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MODERN PHILOLOGY

VOLUME XXXVIII

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THE THIRD SECTION OF *DEOR*

L. WHITBREAD

D*EOR* is at once one of the shortest and most interesting and provocative of the Old English verse remains. Of its seven sections, none has produced more discussion than the third, lines 14-17, and for none has discussion been less conclusive. *Longa est iniuria, longae Ambages: sed summa sequar fastigia rerum*. In these notes I attempt briefly to sift and summarize the more important views of commentators on the textual problems involved, and, where necessary, offer my own interpretation.

Since editors and textual critics have produced many variant readings, the lines may first be set out, without emendation and as I prefer them.

15	Wē þæt Mæðhilde	monge gefrugnon:
	wurdon grundlæse	Gēates frīge,
	þæt hī sēo sorglufu	slæp'ealle binōm.
	þæs oferēode,	þisses swā mæg!

This version is by no means generally accepted. First may be considered the problematic words of the passage. Here the points of disagreement are (1) *Mæðhilde* 14^a, (2) *monge* 14^b, and (3) *grundlæse* and *Gēates frīge* 15.

1. The problem of *Mæðhild* or *Hild* is notorious and of long standing. The (Exeter Book) MS for line 14^a reads *mæð hilde*, with a space between the two words. This was the reading retained by the first editor of *Deor*, J. J. Conybeare,¹ who translated line 14: "This reward

¹ *Illustrations of Anglo-Saxon poetry* (1826).

of many a contest have we heard." He was followed by W. Grimm,² who gave the rendering, "Dieses Schicksal, manchen Kampf wir vernahmen." Thorpe, the next editor, took the words as they are taken above, as a scribally divided proper name *Mæðhilde*, and this has been accepted as a woman's name, either genitive or dative, by many subsequent editors.³ The others still consider there are two words meant, the second of which is the woman's name, and they read *mæð Hilde*, first suggested by Grein in his *Sprachschatz* (II, 213, s.v. *mæð*).⁴

It may be taken as established that the two words in the MS do contain a woman's name. The renderings of Conybeare and Grimm have little, if any, meaning outside the line itself. Since the day of Thorpe and Grein either *Hilde* or *Mæðhilde* has been read by all editors. But when we find, after nearly a hundred years have passed and some score of editions of *Deor* appeared, that the choice between these two readings is still undecided, it is time carefully to sift their respective merits and to come to some decision upon them.

The identity of the woman, whether *Mæðhild* or *Hild*, is so uncertain that no argument could be offered from it to decide between the readings. Moreover, the MS evidence is indefinite. Proper names in the MSS of Old English are rarely written with capitals except at the opening of a sentence (e.g., the MS of *Deor*, ll. 1, 8, 18, besides small letters for the undoubted names in ll. 5, 15, 19, 21, 36, 37, 39); and a scribal division of a compound name is common enough (*Deor* MS *nīð had 5*, *Beado hilde 8*, *eorman rices 21*, *heo deninga 36*). The one, very minor, piece of evidence in the MS of *Deor* which occurs to me in favor of the reading *Mæðhilde* is the distribution of þ and ð: the letter þ

² *Deutsche Heldensage* (1829).

³ B. Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), followed by L. F. Klipstein, *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*, Vol. II (1849); L. Ettmüller, *Engla and Seazna Scōpas and Bōceras* (1850); M. Rieger, *Alt- und ags. Lesebuch* (1861); F. Kluge, *Ags. Lesebuch* (1888, etc.); W. J. Sedgefield, *Beowulf, etc.* (1910, etc.); and *Ags. verse book* (1922); E. Sieper, *Ae. Elegie* (1915); B. Dickins, *Runic and heroic poems* (1915); W. A. Craigie, *Specimens of Ags. poetry III* (1931); K. Malone, separate ed. of *Deor* (1933); G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, *Exeter Book* ("Ags. verse records," Vol. III [1936]).

⁴ And in his OE poetry notes in *Germania*, X (1865), 422 (in his *Bibliothek*, Vol. I [1857], Grein had retained *mæð hilde*). He was followed by Wülcker in the revision of the *Bibliothek* (1883) and, among others, by A. J. Wyatt, *Ags. reader* (1919); by L. L. Schücking, *Kleines ags. Dichterbuch* (1919); and even more recently by W. S. Mackie, *Exeter Book II* ("EETS," No. CXCIV [1934]), only one year after Malone (*Deor*, p. 8) had confidently declared: "It may be regarded as reasonably well established that the lady in the case was named *Mæðhild*, not *Hild*."

appears, in all, 48 times; ð only 10 times (including the MS capital Ð at line 18 and MS *earfoda* 30, an obvious scribal error); and it is noticeable that throughout the first five sections, lines 1-27, þ is used, apart from ð thrice in compound proper names, *Niðhād* 5 (MS *nið had*), (MS) *Ðēodric* 18, and *Mæðhilde* 14 (for MS *mæð hilde*).

In so short a poem this is not a conclusive matter. A far more convincing argument against the reading *mæð Hilde* has been the lack of a really convincing explanation for the word *mæð*: the word as it stands in its half-line, *þæt* (definite article) *mæð Hilde* (genitive singular), must be a substantive, neuter accusative singular. For the value usually given it, 'violation, rape,' there is a cognate verb, the Old Norse *meiða* (with related forms *meiðir*, *meiðsl*), first quoted by Grein in the *Sprachschatz* in the sense 'to ravish.' However, the meaning of this verb, as Malone has pointed out (*Deor*, pp. 24 f.), is rather 'to hurt, maim.' An alternative explanation proposed more recently by E. A. Kock,⁵ of *mæð* as the common-enough Old English noun with basic meaning 'measure' (Kock: "due measure, moderation, Mässigung, Zurückhaltung"), is equally unconvincing because this noun is feminine and is not elsewhere found as neuter. The solitary instance which comes to mind, in which *mæð* 'measure' might have neuter value, is the idiomatic phrase found in the *b*-line of Maldon 195: (and *manna mā*) *þonne hit ænig mæð wære*; cf. 190^b: *þe hit riht* (neuter) *ne wæs*.⁶ But the neuter value there is more than questionable, for the pronoun *hit* in such phrases is a formal, anticipatory subject which, though itself neuter, most likely gives no indication of the gender of its complimentary noun.

If we do adopt *mæð* as a common noun here in *Deor*, it seems to me that a less risky explanation would be a late by-form of *mæg(e)ð*, an inflected genitive singular of *mægð* 'maiden.' The phonological development, loss of the palatal element with compensatory lengthening, might be paralleled in such a form⁷ and may well seem more

⁵ *Anglia*, XLV (1921), 124.

⁶ Prose examples are found in Wulfstan's *Sermons* (ed. A. Napier, 1882), No. II, p. 17, l. 8: *awð hit mæð wæs*; No. XXVII, p. 179, l. 29: *be þām þe hit mæð aȝ*.

⁷ Cf. E. Sievers, *Ags. Grammatik* (3d ed; 1898), § 214, 3: *tiġdian, tidian*, W. W. Lawrence, *MP*, IX (1911), 29 ff., while adopting Grein's explanation of *mæð* ("violatio, Schändung"), doubtfully suggested (p. 32) reading *þā mægð* (accus. sing.) *Hilde*; similarly T. Grienberger, *Anglia*, XLV (1921), 400, observed that *mæð* might be the dative singular

permissible if we take into account the closely related Old English noun which shows common interchange, *mægden*, *māden*. Alternatively, the MS reading *mæð* could be emended into *mægð*.

This is not offered as more than a passing suggestion, because the reading *Mæðhilde* seems simpler and more satisfactory and dispenses with the possibility of emendation. As it stands, this form could be either genitive or dative singular; but in its context a dative value, with the sense still commonly given it, 'concerning, about *Mæðhild*,' is, I think, scarcely allowable without a preposition, *be* or *ymb*. As early as 1861 Rieger produced the necessary smoothness by inserting *be* before the word. He is followed in more recent years by R. Imelmann,⁸ by Sedgefield, and by Sieper, who in his text cancels *þæt* 14^a. Dispensing with either cancel or insertion, we may, however, quite well take *Mæðhilde* as genitive by giving it the obvious value of being semi-partitive and dependent on *þæt* (demonstrative pronoun), which itself stands for a neuter noun, most likely *þing* 'affair.' This last is used at line 9 in the previous section of *Deor* in a more pregnant sense, 'case, plight, misfortune,' and thus may be the more easily understood in line 14 as a connecting link with what has gone before: the poet in line 14 wishes to imply he is to speak of another woman's affair, 'that [affair, case] of *Mæðhild*,' just as he has already spoken of the affair of *Beadohild*.⁹

2. There is, needless to say, no reason to insert the noun *þing* in the text of line 14^a, where it would disturb the alliteration. But all recent commentators seem to agree (consciously or unconsciously) in looking in line 14 for some such reference, for some noun object which will sum up the story or the state of mind or the affair of the woman the line mentions. Moreover, the construction *wē . . . mōnge gefrūgnon* needs a direct object which can scarcely be found in line 15 or line 16. Both these needs are, I think, accounted for to complete satisfaction if we do assume that a noun object is understood after *þæt* 14^a and that *Mæðhilde* is dependent on it. But in all of the numerous sug-

of *mægð* ('Jungfer Hild'). F. Holthausen's emendation *mæðel* 'Rede,' which still finds a place in his edition of *Deor* (*Beowulf*, etc., Vol. I [6th ed; 1929]), is far from tempting and has been adopted by no other editor; it was (characteristically) condemned by Kock.

⁸ *Zeugnisse zur ae. Odoaker-Dichtung* (1907).

⁹ Similarly E. Ekwall, in a review of Malone's ed., *MLR*, XXIX (1934), 81, would now take *þæt Mæðhilde* 14^a by itself as the equivalent of *hyre sylfre þing* 9^b.

gested emendations of line 14 we may discern an attempt to read this explanatory noun object into the text itself. One or two early attempts are listed in Grein-Wülcker (I, 279). We have seen that the longest enduring of them, Grein's noun *mæð*, is not satisfactory. More recently the word *monge* 14^b has more than once suffered to the same end from alteration or from strained and novel interpretation. F. Klaeber¹⁰ suggested that *monge gefrugnon* was an example of dittography, mechanical repetition of *ge-* by the copyist, and he would emend to *mān* or *mōd*. Holthausen has adopted and retained *mōd* in his text of *Deor*, though Klaeber himself leaves the text of this *b*-line as it stands.¹¹ The noun *mōd*, neuter, with *Mæðhilde* as the dependent genitive, certainly suits the context well enough, but so violent an alteration of the text scarcely recommends it. If we are to have *mōd* at all, we might just as well take it as the noun understood after *þat* 14^a. Or we might leave *monge* alone and change *mæð* 14^a into *mōd*, assuming the *æ* for *o* is a scribal attraction from the preceding word *þat*!

Another ingenious but most inconclusive suggestion for *monge* was made by Malone in his edition of 1933 (p. 8). There he did not alter the word but sought to take it as

dat. sg. of a noun *mong* 'company, commerce, intercourse,' recorded in Middle English (see NED s.v. *mong* [1^b]) and cognate with Icelandic *mang* 'love commerce' (cf. also Old English *gemong* 'company'). On this interpretation *Mæðhilde monge* 'the commerce of Mæðhild' and *Geates frige* [15^b] 'the passion of Geat' would be parallel constructions, and *monge* would be a dat. of accompaniment by no means isolated in Old English poetry.

Malone proceeded to translate: "We learned that: Geat's boundless passion¹² and the [love] commerce of Mæðhild came to pass." This suggestion need not be discussed at length because Malone himself has discarded it. But there is need to emphasize that the Icelandic *mang* has no other exact recorded cognate form in Old English (the prose term *mangere* 'trader, merchant,' though similar in meaning, is a loan-word from Latin) and that the Old English *gemong* does not otherwise

¹⁰ *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XVII (1906), 284, n. 1; *Anglia*, L (1926), 121, n. 1.

¹¹ In his edition of *Deor* (*Beowulf*, etc. [3d ed., 1936], p. 286) Klaeber does certainly add the note: "There may be a scribal error in 14b (*monge* for *mōd* ?) or an omission before it."

¹² Malone has followed Grienberger in taking *grundlæse* as attributive. This seems very forced; the normal and far more popular reading has always taken *wurdon grundlæse* 15^a together, as predicative.

in verse occur in an aphetic form *mong*.¹³ Whereas it scarcely needs saying that the syncopated form *monge*, nominative plural of the adjective 'many,' is common enough in Old English prose and verse (e.g., in verse: *Guðlac* 1; *Phænix* 4, 443; *Christ* 926, 1142, 1170; *Exeter gnomes* [A] 13, etc.) and, taken with *wē* in line 14^a, makes excellent sense here in *Deor*.¹⁴

Malone's more recent interpretation of the third section in *Deor* is even more startling and unacceptable.¹⁵ Taking up Klaeber's suggestion of dittography in line 14^b, he would alter *monge* to *māne*, in the sense, unknown in Old English, of 'moan, complaint, lament.' By taking *frige* 15^b as the genitive singular of *frēo* 'woman,' Malone is enabled to interpret the phrase as 'the lamentations of Mæðhild, the lady of Geat.'

Since an adequate and convincing refutation of this interpretation has already come from F. Norman,¹⁶ we need not consider it in any great detail. The change to *mān*, as Klaeber suggested but put aside in favor of *mōd*, or to *māne*, seems quite unwarranted, while *frige* in the sense 'woman' is, as Norman (pp. 377 f.) shows, of doubtful authenticity, the form *frēo* apparently occurring only at *Genesis* (B) 457 as a clear Old Saxon usage (OS *frī*).¹⁷ What does need comment is one point of Norman's own suggestion on the textual interpretation of line 14. His rehabilitation of Malone's earlier suggestion, *monge* as a singular noun, with a new and "looser" meaning 'affair,' for which no parallels are offered, and his defense of this, that the usual adject-

¹³ Also the further examples of "dative of accompaniment" which Malone has found in *Widsith* 3, *Beowulf* 1068, 1085, etc. (cf. *Anglia*, LVII [1933], 313 ff.; *Engl. studies*, XV [1933], 150), are not free from doubt.

¹⁴ Alternative constructions are possible in Old English for the plural *monge* (etc.), either adjectival as here, or partitive (with gen.). A possible parallel to our construction is *Maldon* 31: *þon wē swā hearde hilde dālon*, unless *heard* there is adverbial or qualifies *hilde*. We might compare also *Deor* 19^b: *þæt was monegum cūþ*, 'that was known to many [of us?].'

¹⁵ "Mæðhild," *ELH*, III (1936), 253-56.

¹⁶ "Deor: a criticism and an interpretation," *MLR*, XXXII (1937), 374-81. Malone's rejoinder, "The tale of Geat and Mæðhild," *Engl. studies*, XIX (1937), 193-99, has also been answered by Norman, "Deor and modern Scandinavian ballads," *London mediaeval studies*, I (Part II, 1938), 165-78, of which pp. 174 ff. resummaries the textual aspect. It is only just to add that Malone's bold treatment of the text was inspired by an ingenious attempt (which is also refuted in detail by Norman) to link the Mæðhild allusion to Scandinavian ballad sources.

¹⁷ Though the use of *fre* 'lady' in Middle English, e.g., *Sir Gawain* 1545, etc., usually derived from OE adj. *frēo*, might possibly be used as evidence of a genuine OE noun *frēo* 'woman.'

tival force of *monge* is "too weak to bear the chief stress of the line," are really not worth serious consideration, seeming no more than reckless, and from such a scholar almost ludicrous, assertions. We may safely conclude on *monge* 14^b that its obvious adjectival value is here the simplest and far the best.

3. To turn to the disputed meanings of *frīge* and *grundlēase* in line 15, the first is an uncommon and a poetical usage apparently elsewhere found uncompounded only at *Christ* 37, 419, *Elene* 341, and *Juliana* 104, in those instances being qualified by the genitive *weres*¹⁸ and having the sense 'sexual intercourse, embraces.' In all four the plural is used. Here in *Deor* the appearance of the term with a figurative epithet *grundlēase* implies, as has been generally recognized, that we need to give it, too, a figurative value and render it less realistically as 'sexual desire, passion.'¹⁹ In line 15 it is, as a plural with singular meaning, the subject of the plural verb *wurdon*. Some early editors and translators of *Deor*, however,²⁰ took *frīge* as the masculine nominative plural of the adjective *frēo* 'free-born,' in the substantival sense 'nobles.' This is phonologically possible²¹ but very far from suitable to the context. It is strange that this inaccurate interpretation, which stretches beyond permissible limits the true meaning of *grundlēase*, should find favor as late as 1909, with a scholar like F. B. Gummere,²² who translated line 15: "Heroes of Geat were homeless made." The sense 'homeless' or 'landless' for *grundlēase* is far removed from the true meaning, 'bottomless.'²³ It is interesting and instructive here to note that this epithet is used in the

¹⁸ Cf. F. Tupper, *Anglia*, XXXVII (1913), 121 f.

¹⁹ In derivation, meaning, and plural usage it is modeled on the Latin *venereae*. Other, early, values given it here, like 'courtships' (Thorpe) or 'wooings' (D. H. Haigh, *Aga. sagas* [1861]), are much less exact.

²⁰ Including the editors Conybeare ('chiefs'), Grimm ('die Freien'), Ettmüller ('homines liberi'), Grein ('viri ingenui, proceres'), Rieger.

²¹ Cf. Sievers, §§ 176 and 297, n. 2.

²² *The oldest English epic*. Though going back to Conybeare, this interpretation was mainly adopted by German scholars, e.g., Grein (*Sprachschatz*: "Heimatlos wurden die Gothenmänner"); R. Koegel, *Geschichte der deutsche Litteratur*, I (1894), 151: "Es wurden grundlos (landlos, heimatlos) die Gotenmänner"; A. Brandl, *Paul's Grundriss*, II (2d ed., 1908), 975: "Die Gauten verloren ihren Heimatbesitz"; Sieper, p. 274: "Heimatlos wurden die Helden des Goten"; cf. also R. Imelmann, *Forschungen zur ae. Poesie* (1920), p. 473. The return to Thorpe's view of a love story was made by Klaeber, *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XVII, 283 f. ("Die Liebe des Gaut war grenzenlos"), and by Lawrence, *MP*, IX, 31.

²³ Cf. A. S. Cook's notes on *Christ* 145, 1545.

Old English verse mostly with reference to hell, e.g., *Genesis* (B) 390, *Whale* 46, both directly referring to the conception of the "bottomless pit" (cf. Rev. 9:1, 2, etc.; cf. also Milton's "bottomless perdition" of hell, *Paradise lost*, I, 47).²⁴ The figurative use with reference to love or passion at *Deor*, line 15, thus gives *grundlēase* a value 'boundless, limitless, overwhelming,' which contrasts well with the similar but more prosaic term *endelēas*, used with reference to sorrow at line 30.

Etymologically considered, the singular of the feminine noun which has its plural *frīge*, seems undecided among scholars. Bosworth-Toller and Malone gloss the singular as *frīg*; Kluge, A. S. Cook (ed. *Christ* [1900]; ed. *Elene* [1919]), and W. Strunk (ed. *Juliana* [1904]) as *frīgu*. The matter is scarcely decidable, because only the plural is found; there is clear etymological connection, however, with the first element of the Old English *frīg(e)dæg* 'Friday,' a form modeled on the Latin *dies Veneris* (cf. *NED*, s.v. *Friday*). The same stem is seen in the Old English *frēog(e)an*, Gothic *frijōn* 'to love,' and the Old Saxon *frī* 'woman'; Tupper has referred to Old English *gefrīgian* in the Lindisfarne Gospels (Mark 10:16), and Malone (*Engl. studies*) to the modern colloquial term *frig*, which appears in literature in James Joyce's *Ulysses*. The Old Norse (proper name) cognate *Frigg* is a *jō*-stem, earlier **Frijjō*.

We may now consider more closely the construction of the lines which make up this third section of *Deor*. Their interconnection is disputed and needs some additional comment. According to the interpretation of *þæt Mæðhilde* 14^a put forward, line 14 seems to stand by itself. The phrase 'this [affair, case] of Mæðhild,' is anticipatory; the next two lines explain it, and at line 17 the (so-called) refrain comments on it, *þæs oferēode*, 'there was a surmounting of the affair,' that is, whatever the trouble of Mæðhild was, in the end it turned out well. Thus we may most naturally place a colon at the end of line 14, though if the construction is understood a comma, with its vaguer value, would, I suppose, be sufficient. Line 15 is the explanatory clause; and line 16 I take to be a dependent consecutive clause, introduced by the

²⁴ Other conjectured meanings here in *Deor* have been "unreasonable" (Thorpe) and "groundless, without foundation" (suggested by F. Norman and A. H. Smith, in Malone's ed., p. 8); both are strained to fit the context, and, in fact, the meanings of both apply to each of them.

conjunction *þat*. To a possible objection that to bear this out we should expect an intensifying adverb in the main clause of line 15 (*swā*, etc.), it may be replied that in line 15 it is hardly logical to intensify *grundlēase* in its one acceptable sense of '[bottomless, and so:] boundless, limitless, overwhelming,' because it is, as a figurative usage in itself, equivalent to an intensified term like 'so great' or 'so large.'

If we do take the three lines to be constructed in this way, which has always been the most evident and popular way, it is not difficult to see the general interconnection between them. But ambiguity has long remained over the syntax of the explanatory clauses, lines 15 and 16; and it is important that the ambiguity be resolved, for it covers the true meaning of this whole Mæðhild-Geat allusion. The poet in line 14 is to speak, we see, of some tale or affair or trouble of a woman Mæðhild. It may well seem strange and illogical that in line 15, the explanatory statement, the poet should go on to refer to Geat (presumably the lover of Mæðhild) only. Yet this must be the fact if we take line 15 simply as 'Geat's passion grew boundless,' leaving it to be understood it is Geat's passion for the Mæðhild already mentioned. Therefore, it seems to me that a far more acceptable sense is secured if we adopt a suggestion which, so far as I know, has not been urged before (though it is suggested as a possibility by Holthausen, II [5th ed.; 1929], 196), that *Gēates* 15^b is an objective genitive (cf. *Beowulf* 378, *Waldere* II, 20^b, etc.). We may then make line 15 a true explanation of Mæðhild's affair, a reference to 'her passion for Geat' rather than 'the passion of Geat' for her.

Though this objective value for *Gēates* seems far and away the more satisfactory, it is not completely necessary to adopt it if we can descry some reference to Mæðhild in the further, dependent, explanatory clause made up by line 16. Unfortunately, the syntax of this clause as it is worded in the MS, *þat hi seo sorg lufu slæp ealle binom*, has not always been clear to critics. The clause is introduced, clearly enough, by the conjunction *þat* and has the compound term (*sēo*) *sorglufu* as its subject and *binōm* (from *biniman*, *beniman*) as its verb. It has been a question whether *hi* or *slæp* provides the direct object of *binōm*, and what the value of *ealle* is. The true answer, that the direct object is certainly *hi*, has been long in arriving because of the general obscurity resulting from ill-advised attempts at altering one

or more of the words. There was first Thorpe's alteration of *hi* to *him* and of *ealle* to *ealne*, accusative singular masculine (to qualify *slāp*, which he took to be the direct object). As an emendation, of course, the change of *hi* to *him* is quite plausible.²⁵ A scribal *hi* = *him* is found through the Exeter Book and the other Old English verse MSS, though the *Deor* MS here has no mark of contraction over *hi*. And *him* could be taken as either singular, referring to Geat, "Geat's wooings to Mæthild were endless, so that the pining love took away from him all sleep," as one early translator took it (Haigh, p. 104)—or plural, referring to both Mæðhild and Geat. Possibly this pleasant ambiguity was the reason that several comparatively recent editors of *Deor*—among them Dickins, Sieper, Wyatt, Sedgefield, Craigie, and Mackie—adopted the change to *him* while leaving *ealle* as adverbial, equivalent to the more usual *eal* or *ealles* (Dickins: "Geat's affection for Mæðhild passed all bounds, that his hapless passion completely robbed him of his sleep").

That the reading *him* is adopted in an edition of 1934 (Mackie's *Exeter Book II*) and in one of 1935 (Sedgefield's 3d, revised, ed. of *Beowulf*) shows that it is still not generally recognized that this change is quite unnecessary, and that the MS may safely be taken as it stands in line 16. The parallel of *Beowulf*, 1886^b f.: *oþ þæt hine ylðo benam/mægenes wynnnum*, is enough to show that *beniman* may be followed by a direct personal object in the accusative, while the indirect object, the thing deprived, is placed in the dative (instrumental).²⁶ This is conclusive against Thorpe's *him* as a necessary change, whether or not *ealle* is altered. Oddly enough, E. V. K. Dobbie,²⁷ realizing *hi* (accusative) is, in this *Deor* line, the direct object of *binōm*, has defended it by reference to Old Saxon usage (*Heliland* 309, 2990, etc.). It is also a normal Old English usage! Moreover, *slæp ealle* readily explains itself

²⁵ Cf. Tupper, *Anglia*, XXXVII, 121.

²⁶ Or genitive, as a glance at the first words of the "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" episode will show (OE *Chronicle* 755A): *Hēr Cynewulf benam Sigebyrt his rīces*. It must be admitted that numerous other constructions after *beniman* are possible: in C. Plummer's revealing note on this *Chronicle* passage (*Two of the Saxon chronicles parallel*, II [1899], p. 44) no less than five possibilities are illustrated; cf. also Bosworth-Toller, *Supplement*, I, 78, and Tupper. A further possibility, not listed by Plummer, will be found in the *Chronicle* s.a. 1086 (E), II, 3 f.

²⁷ In notes to his recent edition of the Exeter Book (cf. p. 319, n. 3). This volume was begun by the late G. P. Krapp; but since the treatment of *Deor*, introduction, text, and notes, was, according to the preface, made (only) by Dr. Dobbie, I refer to the work by his name.

as the needed indirect object in the dative (instrumental) singular if we take *slæp* as an elided form of *slæpe*, final *e* having been left out before the initial vowel of the following word *ealle*.²⁸

Taking *hi* (= *hī*, variant of *hīe*, *hȳ*) as the accusative object of *binōm*, we are still faced with a slight ambiguity, whether we may take it as feminine singular ('her,' that is, Mæðhild) or as plural ('them,' that is, both Mæðhild and Geat). Choice between these two available courses is not an absolute matter; but since it involves the interpretation of the whole three lines, we may set out their respective probabilities. If we take *Gēates* 15^b, as suggested above, as objective, it seems advisable to take *hī* as feminine singular: 'her passion for Geat grew boundless, that this sad love deprived *her* of all sleep.' And if we do not, *hī* as feminine still seems to provide the more plausible sense, and a rendering like 'Geat's passion grew boundless, that this sad love deprived *her* of all sleep' seems to contain a more piquant allusion than one which would run: 'Geat's passion grew boundless, that this sad love [either his passion or else the love between him and Mæðhild] deprived them of all sleep.' Geat's 'passion' is not, as we have seen, a physical term. Why, then, should it keep them both awake? F. Norman (*MLR*, XXXII [1937], 380) argues for the second of these renderings: 'Geat's passion grew boundless, that this sad love deprived *her* of all sleep'; and he considers that Geat may be offering Mæðhild unwelcome attentions which are a source of worry to her.²⁹ This is more plausible than the third of the renderings given above (the happy ending implied by the refrain at line 17 was, so Norman postulates, the death of Geat, perhaps sudden death in battle). But it is surely a somewhat stronger reason for Mæðhild's constant sleeplessness that she is in love than that she is worried by unwelcome attentions. If we do assume that it is she who is passionately in love

²⁸ This was first suggested by S. Stefanović, *Anglia*, XXXIII (1910), 398, and is adopted by Klaeber, Malone, Dobbie, and Norman; also by Holthausen, who makes the emendation (I [6th ed.: 1929]) of *hi* to *hine*, masculine accusative singular, which is thus syntactically correct but quite unnecessary and, moreover, somewhat objectionable as referring to Geat only (see below). By itself the accusative *slæp* is possible as the indirect object, without assuming elision, but this construction is not common with *beniman* and would leave *ealle* in the air.

²⁹ Malone's strictures (*Engl. studies*, XIX [1937], 195) on this interpretation as introducing a note of crude comedy make amusing reading but are surely misplaced, since Norman has not suggested that these attentions involved *physical* inconvenience for the woman; this would indeed debase the allusion intolerably.

(with Geat), the obvious conclusion would be that the love received its consummation and that, so far as the story goes, they both lived happily ever after.³⁰

And so we may at last arrive at this literal rendering of the third section: 'Many of us learned this (affair, case) of Mæðhild [namely]: her passion for Geat grew boundless [i.e., so great] that this sad love deprived her of all sleep.'

In these lines only the merest outline of a story is apparent. According to the readings and interpretations adopted, it is a well-known tale (*wē þæt . . . monge gefrugnon*) of a woman who comes to endure *grundlæse frīge*, overwhelmingly passionate love, and *sorglufu*, love which has its sadness (that is, not tragic love, but presumably for the time unrequited—or it may be called *sorglufu* simply because it deprives her of all sleep). In the end, as the refrain at line 17 shows, it turned out well.

What the story is which lies back of these lines, there is no other way of determining. The many identifications proposed, with stories and characters of old Germanic and particularly Scandinavian lore, are all no more than conjectural and need not detain us here—though no really comprehensive or discriminating survey has yet appeared.³¹ Speculation has been remarkably full and varied, and uniformly inconclusive. The very fact that speculators have nothing at all to go on, apart from the three lines of *Deor*, has not, as we might expect, pointed to extreme caution but has merely contributed to their confidence. Even the definite names given here to the lovers have failed to keep conjecture in check. In particular, the possibility (which, as we have seen, is less inviting) that the reference is to a woman Hild, rather than Mæðhild, has lent itself to guesses based on only slight

³⁰ There is no need to take too seriously Malone's earlier objection (*Deor*, p. 9) to *hi* as feminine singular on the ground that "it involves the hazardous assumption that only one of the lovers, and that one the woman, falls to sleep at nights. Sleeplessness is a well-known symptom of love, and his proper share of it cannot with plausibility be denied to Geat here." One may, however, compare the yearning of the woman expressed in the OE *Wife's complaint* and (presumably) in *Wulf and Eadwacer*, ll. 9, 13 ff.; also the humorous Eddic *Þrymkríða* str. 28: *svaf vatr Freyja ditta nðttum, Svá vas hon óðfús í Jótunheima* (following Klæber, *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, XVII, 283, who gives other early Scandinavian examples of the workings of passionate love).

³¹ Some, not all, are briefly discussed by Imelmann, *Forschungen*, chap. xiv, "Mæthild," pp. 470–85; cf. also the notes to the editions of *Deor* by Holthausen, Sieper, Dickins, and Dobbie.

similarities.³² On my own estimate, which may not be inclusive, there have been at least ten attempts at identity, ranging from mere passing guesses to the several full-length discussions which have appeared. In his separate edition of *Deor* Malone, quite justifiably, swept them all aside; yet so intriguing does the obscurity of the third section become that only a few years later Malone set forth, with characteristic confidence, a completely new identification. To such a startling *volte-face* (which is by no means unparalleled in Old English scholarship) the attitude of more sober critics must inevitably be admiration rather than acceptance. The lines of the third section remain as no more than the echo of some old lost tale of love.

Of more value, perhaps, may be a note on the names of the two loves, Mæðhild and Geat, concerned in the allusion. In support of a name beginning Mæð-, Dickens has well compared Mæðhelm, *Liber vitae* 96 (Sweet's *Oldest English texts* ["EETS," No. LXXXV] [1885], p. 156), stating that the first element "is perhaps derived by haplogy from Mæðelhild, for the first element of which cf. the Frankish Mallobaudes."³³ This is a shrewd suggestion, but it would need Mæð- to have a short vowel, whereas the metrical considerations in *Deor* 14^a point to a long vowel. The same considerations need not, of course, prevent direct connection with the modern feminine name (of Germanic origin), Mat(h)ilda (Matilde, Mathilde, etc.). There is no very evident connection in the first element with the Norse name Magnild unearthed by Malone from Scandinavian ballads. There may be some etymological clue in the suggestion already made that mæð might possibly be equivalent to mæg(e)ð. Equally well we could assume that Mæð—Hild=earlier Mæg(e)ð—Hild, perhaps originally two words, 'maid Hild,' falsely linked as a compound name. Other examples of such names come readily to mind for later periods, especially in the English popular ballads: Maid Marian of the Robin Hood ballads, or May Marg(a)ret of *Clerk Saunders*, etc. If this were so, Mæðhild would not be connected with the Mæðhelm group of masculine names.

The name Geat has been traced in West Saxon and Northumbrian

³² Cf. F. Norman (ed.), *Waldere* (1933), p. 26: "There is one objection . . . which applies to all identifications of ladies bearing the name Hild: the frequent occurrence of this name in the early lays." He goes on to give nine examples, among them Mæðhild of *Deor*.

³³ Imelmann, p. 479, refers also to Anglo-Saxon names Mæþfrid, Mæþhere.

and also foreign genealogies;³⁴ there are several Norse personages called Gaut(r) to be found, and Gaut and compounds are also Odinn-names.³⁵ But there are no very evident connections to be made. More likely, the name in *Deor* is national, 'a Geat,' a member (a king or noted hero) of the Scandinavian tribe in South 'Sweden,' the Old Norse *Gautar* (Old Swedish *Gøtar*) and fairly certainly—unless we take sides in that first and greater Battle of Jutland—the *Gēatas* of *Beowulf*. The hero *Beowulf*, for instance, is himself called 'the Geat' at lines 640, 1301, 1785, and 1792.

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³⁴ Cf. H. Chadwick, *Origin of the English nation* (1907), pp. 270 ff.; also F. Moorman, *Essays and studies*, V (1914), 84; M. Clarke, *Sidelights on Teutonic history* (1911), p. 189 n.; and, for examples, Klaeber ed. of *Beowulf*, Appen. I, *passim*. In particular there are mentions in Asser and Nennius (see Klaeber; cf. Lawrence, *MP*, IX, 37) which have led to consideration of this *Gēat(a)* as a mythic personage if not a god, and the personage of *Deor* has been so interpreted; cf. Chadwick, *CHEL*, I (1907), 36; also the *Deor* translation of C. M. Lewis in Cook and Tinker's *Select translations from OE poetry* (1902, 1926), p. 59:

"All knew Hild's shameful fortune and that god's unfathomed sorrow,

Who through love's wakeful years [!] of night watched weeping for the morrow."

³⁵ Cf. J. M. Kemble, *Saxons in England*, I (2d ed.; 1876), 370; E. Mogk, *Paul's Grundriss*, III (1900), 333, 339; also Dickins, p. 29 n.

ANALOGUES OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS 153-54

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF A THEME

JAMES HUTTON

WHAT is perhaps most notable about Shakespeare's last two sonnets is that their theme is obviously borrowed. As is well known, the ultimate original is an epigram by Marianus Scholasticus found in the Greek Anthology (*AP*, IX, 627). The puzzle is to know how Shakespeare came upon it, for there is little, or rather no, likelihood that he lifted it directly out of the Anthology. Before 1603 there was no complete translation of the Anthology in print; and at that date Shakespeare is unlikely to have opened this collection of three thousand poems at about the middle of the volume only to choose one of the least distinguished epigrams.¹ Literary men were prone to know only such epigrams as had special currency either because they had been included in one of the well-known books of selections or because they had been put into Latin verse by one of the humanists. It may be said at once that Marianus' epigram appears in none of the current selections.² Does it occur among the more casual translations from the Anthology made by one of the humanists (for this seems to be the only channel left)? An attempt, now extending

¹ The translation of 1603 was by Lubinus: *Florilegium . . . interprete Eilhardo Lubino* ([Heidelberg]). Ben Jonson's copy of this edition of the Anthology is preserved, and he has underscored a number of epigrams, but not this one. (This last sentence is based on information supplied to me by Messrs. Henry Sotherton Ltd., London, in 1931.)

² The best-known were the *Epigrammata Graeca* of Joannes Soter (Cologne, 1525, 1528, and Freiburg, 1544); the *Selecta epigrammata Graeca* of Janus Cornarius (Basel, 1529); Henri Estienne's *Epigrammata Graeca* ([Geneva], 1570), refurbished by John Stockwood, *Progymnasma scholasticum* (London, 1597); and Hieronymus Megiser, *Anthologia seu florilegium Graecolatinum* (Frankfort, 1602). Besides these, the present writer has examined many less-known selections, perhaps all that exist. The statement of Dowden, lately repeated (and misquoted) by Tucker Brooke, that the epigram, "had been translated into Latin 'Selecta Epigrammata, Basel, 1529,' and again several times before the close of the sixteenth century," is quite unfounded, as is also the similar lighthearted remark on the subject by Alden, *The Sonnets of Shakespeare* (Boston and New York, 1916), p. 370. The blame, however, rests in the first place on Hertzberg (*Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXX, 162), whom Dowden follows and who counted the titles of eight "Select translations" from the Anthology in Fabricius' *Bibliotheca Graeca* but never looked up any one of them to see whether this epigram was included, merely assuming that it was!

over many years, to control the modern influence of the Anthology, has produced for this epigram only one unequivocal translation in the sixteenth century. Certain other epigrams were translated over a hundred times. Clearly this was not a popular one. Other material, however, rather more interesting than simple translations, has thereby come to light. We can at least, I think, now view the two Shakespearean sonnets in the perspective of a literary tradition; possibly we can do somewhat more than that.³

The Greek epigram, first printed in the *editio princeps* of the Anthology (Florence, 1494) is here given in the text of the Planudean Anthology, the only one read before the eighteenth century.⁴

Τάσδ' ὑπὸ τὰς πλατάνους ἀπαλῶ πεπεδημένος ὕπνω
 εὔδεν Ἔρως, Νύμφαις λαμπάδα παρθέμενος.
 Νύμφαι δ' ἀλλήλησι, τί μένομεν; αἶθε δὲ τούτῳ
 σβέσσαμεν, εἶπον, ὁμοῦ πῦρ κραδῆς μερόπων.
 Λαμπὰς δ' ὥς ἐφλέξε καὶ ὕδατα, θερμὸν ἐκείθεν
 Νύμφαι ἔρωτίάδες λουτροχοεῦσιν ὕδωρ.

Beneath these plane trees, detained by gentle slumber, Love slept, having put his torch in the care of the Nymphs; but the Nymphs said one to another: "Why wait? Would that together with this we could quench the fire in the hearts of men." But the torch set fire even to the water, and with hot water thenceforth the Love-Nymphs fill the bath.⁵

Both this epigram and the one preceding it in the Anthology (AP, IX, 626), also by Marianus, are, says a lemma, in praise of a bath named "Eros"; they explain how it became a hot spring, though originally cold. The elements of the poem which must be borne in mind are (1) the plane trees, (2) Love asleep, (3) his torch intrusted to the Nymphs, (4) their conspiracy, (5) the "reflective" phrase: "the fire

³ Of the fourteen poems, besides the Greek epigram, here noticed, four have previously been adduced as parallels to Shakespeare: the verses of Regianus, those from Tolomei's book, the German poem on Baden, and the sonnet of Fletcher.

⁴ I quote from the edition of Estienne ([Geneva], 1566). There were ten editions of the Anthology between 1494 and 1600. Our epigram appears in Book IV, chap. xix (epig. 35), save that it was inadvertently omitted from the Basel edition of 1549.

⁵ Lubinus' prose translation of 1603 follows:

Sub his platanis suavi domitus somno
 Dormivit amor, nymphis facem apponens.
 Nymphae vero ad invicem: Quid volumus? simul cum hac
 Extinguamus (dixerunt) simul ignem cordis hominum.
 Lampas vero ut combussit et aquas, calidam exinde
 Nymphae amatoriae inter lavandum fundunt aquam.

in the hearts of men," (6) the heating of the waters, (7) the subsequent existence of the hot bath of "Eros."

The only Latin parallel to Shakespeare that has heretofore been quoted is the following, found in the Latin Anthology and there ascribed to one Regianus or Regianius:

Ante bonam Venerem gelidae per litora Baiæ.
Illa natare lacus cum lampade iussit Amorem.
Dum natat, argentes cecidit scintilla per undas;
Hinc vapor ussit aquas: quicumque natavit, amavit.⁶

These verses are perhaps of about the same period as the Greek epigram (fifth century of our era). They may or may not have some connection with it, but they certainly do not reproduce it, and writers on Shakespeare should not carelessly call them "the Latin version" (Sarrazin, *Jahrbuch*, XXXI, 229; Alden, p. 371). For our purpose two points are noteworthy: the localizing at Baiæ of a fancy similar to that of Marianus and the fact that these lines were hardly available for imitation until the end of the sixteenth century, when they were first published by Pierre Pithou in his well-known *Epigrammata et poemata vetera* (Paris, 1589/90).

More like the Greek epigram are the following verses of uncertain authorship:

Baiarum dum forte capit sub mollibus umbris
Fessus Amor somnum murmure captus aquæ,
Ipsa facem accurrens gelida celavit in unda,
Ut veteres flammas vindicet, alma Venus.
Quam primum liquor ille æternos concipit ignes,
Igne novo (quisnam crederet?) arsit aqua.
Flammivomis igitur fumant hæc balnea lymphis,
Quod facula una omnes vincit Amoris aquas.

This epigram, which is easily accessible in Baehrens' *Poetae Latini minores* (IV, 438), ought to have been produced before this for comparison with Shakespeare and perhaps would have been except for Baehrens' note. He says that the poem is now (1882) first published by him from a Florence manuscript (Cod. Riccard. 2939) of the fifteenth century. But Baehrens was mistaken; the poem had been published among the Latin poems of Count Niccolò d'Arco (1479-1546)

⁶ Baehrens, *Poetae Latini minores*, IV, 359. As printed by Alden (p. 370), the epigram is unintelligible. The first line means "Before [the arrival of] kind Venus Baiæ, all over its shores, was cold."

in the edition of 1762, seemingly from an earlier publication in 1533.⁷ Though a slight uncertainty exists as to this earlier publication, it will be abundantly clear as we proceed that the epigram was known in the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile, it is of interest that Baehrens found it in a fifteenth-century manuscript. If Riccard. 2939 is of the fifteenth century, the poem can hardly be the work of D'Arco. Baehrens believed that it was ancient, because he found traces of the Latin Anthology in the same manuscript: "In quo inter plurima carmina novicia (quorum auctores ubique nominantur) casu quodam inrepsit Anthologiae excerptum." But these words plainly leave room for doubt as to the antiquity of this epigram.

It is undoubtedly a derivative of the Greek epigram, and the manner of its derivation is in harmony with neo-Latin treatment of Greek themes, though this fact is not decisive for its origin. Generally speaking, neo-Latin imitators of the Greek Anthology recognized three degrees of departure from their originals: near-translation commonly marked with the words "e Graeco"; free handling or "imitatio"; and verses merely inspired by the Greek, marked "allusio" (they also wrote replies, "responsa," to the originals). A translation "e Graeco" was hardly respectable if it employed more lines than the Greek. The present verses would pass as an "imitatio." The main theme of the original is reproduced: Love asleep, his torch stolen and plunged into the water, which thereupon burns and forms a hot bath. The "reflective" element of the Greek is present in "Ut veteres flammas vindicet." On the other hand, there are notable departures: the scene is at Baiae and not "beneath the plane trees," Love does not intrust his torch to his betrayer, this betrayer is not the Nymphs, but Venus, and there is an attempt at point in a new reflection at the end: "Quod facula una omnes vincit Amoris aquas" (not unlike Shakespeare: "Loves fire heates water, water cooles not love"; cf. also "tooke heat perpetuall" and "aeternos concipit ignes"). Baiae for the scene and Venus for the agent recall the Latin lines of Regianus, but I do not

⁷ *Numerorum libri* is (Verona, 1762), p. 159, where a note says that this epigram is from the Aldine *Carminum collectio* of 1533. No such book is listed by Renouard as published by the Aldine press, but I see no reason to doubt that the editor found the verses in a sixteenth-century book. D'Arco's *Numeri* appeared posthumously at Mantua in 1546, but, unless my own notes here fail me, the present epigram is not in that volume.

think that a direct connection can be established between the two epigrams. Yet an independent introduction of Baiae into the theme is perhaps more likely if the imitation is ancient and possibly contemporary with Regianus than it would be in a fifteenth-century imitation.

Baiae is again the scene in the earliest allusion to the theme that I find in the sixteenth century.⁸ This is by Girolamo Angeriano, a Latin poet whose amatory verses to "Caelia" were a mine to the vernacular poets who came after him. Many of them are more or less free renderings from the Greek Anthology, but whether this is one from that source seems doubtful. His *Erotopaegnon* appeared at Florence in 1512.⁹

DE CAELIAE BALNEO

Inclita laudatas peteret quum Caelia Baias,
Atque saluteris membra lavaret aquis,
Vidimus eiectionis undantia balnea flammis,
Miramur, quid sit tantus et unde vapor.
Quidam inquit, simulacra visa est hic Caelia nuda,
Hac cum rupe latens protinus arsit Amor.

If this is from the Greek epigram, it is "allusio" and not "imitatio"; and in any case the localization at Baiae suggests a knowledge of "D'Arco" or Regianus. Angeriano was a Neopolitan; but, for all his proximity to Baiae, it seems unlikely that two derivatives of a Greek epigram—his and "D'Arco's"—should independently shift the scene

⁸ One turns with some expectation to the *Hendecasyllaborum seu Baiarum libri duo* of Giovanni Pontano (1508), but he shows no certain knowledge of our theme. He has verses on the heating of the waters (*Opera omnia* [Basel, 1556], IV, 3509), but they are a play on the name of his friend Hieronymus Carbo. Another poem, however, comes, by chance, I think, somewhat nearer—"De Bathilla puella in balneis" (*ibid.*, IV, 3452):

Balanas petit Bathilla thermas.
Dumque illi tener it comes Cupido,
Atque una lavat et fovetur una,
Dum molli simul in toro quiescit,
Ac ludos facit improbasque rixas,
Sopito pueroque lassuloque
Arcum surripuit Bathilla ridens.
Mox picta latus instruit pharetra,
Et molles iacit huc et huc sagittas.
Nil O nil reliquum miselli amantes,
Nil his impenetrabile est sagittis.
Heu cladem iuvenum senumque Baias!

⁹ I have not seen this edition. The epigram is here quoted from the Naples edition of 1520, sig. C4. A second epigram (sig. B2), slightly reminiscent of our theme, begins: "Quum dormiret Amor, rapuit clam pulchra pharetram/Caelia" but continues in a totally different strain.

to the same place. If Angeriano had known Regianus' verses, it would have been an easy step to substitute Caelia for Regianus' Amor.

The next example has been somewhat doubtfully ascribed to Mellin de Saint-Gelais. It seems to have been written about 1535 but not to have been printed until the nineteenth century.¹⁰

Fortune avoit à l'Amour endormy
Desrobé l'arc et carquois et flambeau,
Et le tout mis soudainement en l'eau;
Mais le garçon qui ne dort qu'à demy
Ouyt le bruit, si se jecta parmy
Et tant ouvra que la plus amortie
Des ses chaleurs secheroit un amy,
Voire la mer, dont Venus est sortie.

Though again far from the Greek epigram, this is somewhat nearer it than was Angeriano. Here the agent is no longer the Nymphs of the Greek or Venus as in Regianus and "D'Arco" but Fortune, and it is not the torch but Love himself who heats the waters. The last point recalls Regianus. Unless these changes are entirely the French author's own, as seems unlikely, we have evidently failed to uncover at least one early treatment of the theme. It is only a guess that this version ultimately goes back to "D'Arco," since it is somewhat easier to pass from Venus to Fortune than from the Nymphs and since the conclusion of the *huitain* is somewhat suggestive of the last line of "D'Arco" and not at all accounted for by the Greek epigram.

Much closer to the Greek are the anonymous Italian verses already offered as an analogue to Shakespeare by M. J. Wolff and found in the *Versi et regole de la nuova poesia toscana* of Claudio Tolomei (Rome, 1539), sig. M4:

TRADOTTO DA M. STATIO ROMANO
DE L'ACQUE DI BAIA

Al lido già di Baia, sotto un bel Platano Amore
Dormendo stanco presso posò la face,
Naiade Calliroe, de li gioveni amanti pietosa,
Toltola, l'immerse nel vago freddo rio.
Ilqual, mentre dee smorzarla, accesi et arse,
Quinci la belle acque sempre coccenti sono.

¹⁰ *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Blanchemain (Paris, 1873), III, 6. Blanchemain published it from a manuscript of about 1535 containing Saint-Gelais's work but also the work of other poets.

The *Versi et regole* was the publication of Tolomei's society, if his group can be so called, for the promotion of quantitative verse in Italian, and in its time it attracted a good deal of attention. Since it is experimental, the book is made up of translations, largely from neo-Latin poets, and among the anonymous translations several are given as from this same Statio Romano who seems to be otherwise unknown.¹¹

The object of the experiment being to reproduce in Italian the effects of classical verse, and not merely those of quantity, we may be sure that the translator has kept the "rule" of the Latin translators and that his Italian epigram is in six lines because the Latin of Statio was in six lines. Statio's Latin was, therefore, a translation of the Greek epigram. The substance bears this out: here we have (1) a plane tree; (2) Love asleep; (3) his torch laid by (?παρθέμενος); (4) "Naiade Calliroe" = the Nymphs; (5) a "reflective" phrase, "de li gioveni amanti pietosa"; (6) the heating of the waters; (7) the resulting hot baths—all the elements of the Greek. Yet there are changes that cannot be attributed only to the accidents attendant on double translation—there is no direct speech on the part of Callirrhoe, and the localization at Baiae (with the plane tree) must be a reminiscence of one of the Baiae poems. Though "stanco" and "freddo rio" are perhaps implicit in the Greek, they are explicit here and in the verses of "D'Arco": "fessus Amor" and "gelida unda." Unless Statio's Latin version turns up, we cannot say whether he or his Italian translator is responsible for these alterations. We shall return to this version later.

Certainly no more than an "allusio" is the following epigram by Luc-François le Duchat, an associate of the Pléiade:

NAIADIBUS

O quae sub liquidis agitatis eburnea limphis
 Brachia, Capripedum cura iocusque, Deae:
 Vosne etiam puer ille subit? puer ille, sagittas
 Qui tenet, et caeco vulnus ab igne facit:
 Nec gelidi fontes, inimicus et ignibus humor
 Vindicat a rapida mollia corda face?

¹¹ Others among the pieces taken from him are also imitations of the Greek Anthology (see my *Greek Anthology in Italy* [Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1935], p. 299). I may add that there is no question here of the author of the "Silvae" and "Thebais."

Ah valeant, quibus est animo non cedere: me me
Torreat hic, undas qui quoque torret, Amor!¹²

These lines read like a reflection written after reading a poem in which the substance of the Greek epigram had been set forth. Of the versions thus far examined, only that of the *Versi et regole* contains Naiads or Nymphs, but there is little likelihood that Le Duchat had this poem in mind. His source remains a missing link in our history. The reference to "gelidi fontes" and the point of the last line possibly suggest that this source belonged to the Baiae tradition (cf. "D'Arco": "gelida unda," "vindictet," and his last line) but corrected for the Naiads or Nymphs to the Greek epigram.

The only sixteenth-century translation of Marianus' epigram that I have encountered is by Fausto Sabeo, published with many other translations from the Anthology in his *Epigrammata*:¹³

IN BALNEUM DICTUM EROTA. E GRAECO
Sub platano viridi apposta iam lampade Nymphis,
Victus erat somno nequitiosus Amor.
Inter se haec dicunt: "Nitamur lampada, Nymphae,
Suffocare, hominum quae male corda cremat."
Dumque volunt flammam extinguere, lympha calescit:
A Nymphis calidae sic oriuntur aquae.

Here are the obligatory six lines, and the translation is as near to the original as Sabeo had the skill to make it. It has crossed the mind of the present writer that Sabeo might somehow be identical with the mysterious Statio Romano of the *Versi et regole*: he has "platano" (sing.), and his "apposta lampade Nymphis" might have been turned into "presso posò la face" (cf. Shakespeare: "laid by his brand"). The "lido di Baia" would then be an importation of the Italian translator, who would also have dropped the direct speech of the Nymphs. Despite the parallels, however, there seems to be no way of passing from Sabaeus Brixianus to Statius Romanus.¹⁴

¹² *Praeludiorum libri tres* (Paris, 1554), fol. 38^v. There is a French version of Le Duchat's poem by Gilles Durant in the latter's *Imitations* (Paris, 1587; Leiden ed., 1659, p. 196).

¹³ (Rome, 1556), p. 791. Sabeo (ca. 1478-ca. 1558), originally from Brescia, was *custos* of the Vatican Library and, he proclaims, a friend of Michelangelo (see *Anthology in Italy*, p. 212).

¹⁴ Sabeo's translation may well have been made before 1539 when the *Versi et regole* was published. Another point against the identification, however, is the fact that other pieces said to be translated from Statio in the *Versi et regole* find nothing to correspond to them in Sabeo's *Epigrammata*.

We return to the Baiae tradition with the German Latin poet Johann Stigel (1515-62), a friend of Melanchthon.¹⁵ In this version, besides localization at Baiae, we have (2) Love asleep; (4) the conspiracy of the Nymphs, in direct address as in the Greek; (5) a "reflective" verse (vs. 2); but we lack (3) the intrusting of the torch to the Nymphs and notably (6) the heating of the waters and (7) the creation of the hot bath, Stigel having substituted a fancy of his own in the latter half of his poem.

DE CUPIDINE AD BAIAS DORMIENTE

Dum tepidas somnum Baiarum carpit ad undas
 Qui mentes hominum versat amore Deus,
 Accedunt furtimque faces et spicula Nymphae
 Surripiunt, tacitis in sua vota dolis.
 "Vosne estis toti dominantia spicula mundo
 Quae toties questae saucia turba sumus?
 At nunc irriguum poenas date mersa sub amnem,
 Et semel ignitas doleat unda faces."
 Sic illae, gressuque petunt vada salsa citato,
 Immerguntque imis flammae tela vadis.
 Vera fides, mediis magis aestuat ignis in undis:
 Immissum gelidis sulphur ut ardet aquis.
 Sentit Amor fraudes, animumque citatus in iram
 In medio raras colligit amne faces.
 "Quis furor est nostras extinguere velle sagittas?
 Illas sub caelo nemo cavere potest."
 Sic ait, et genibus lunato protinus arcu
 Coniicit in miseras spicula mille Deas.
 Ast illis teneris haesere sub ossibus ignes,
 In quos Oceanus non satis unus eat.
 Hei mihi, quid Domino frustra pugnamus Amori?
 Effugere hunc ipsi non potuere Dii.

The following verses by Luigi Groto bear a certain resemblance to the epigram of Angeriano given above, and Groto elsewhere borrows from Angeriano; but in other respects they draw nearer to other versions of our theme. Thus, before the miracle the waters were "fresche" (cf. "D'Arco," "gelida"), and after it they retained their new heat and their "virtù," and so the poem ends with a point more like that of the Greek epigram than like that of Angeriano.

¹⁵ Janus Gruter, *Delitiae poetarum Germanorum* (Frankfort, 1612), VI, 571. Stigel's poems were collected after his death and published in 1566-69 and 1572.

Quando Madonna per mia morte nacque,
 Vener (cui darle il primo bagno piacque)
 La portò in grembo a l'acque
 (Fresche allhor, come l'altre, e senza pregio)
 Che'l lido nostro hor fan caldo e egregio.
 V'immerse il corpo ignudo, e 'l trasse fora.
 Ma l'onde ne l'accor membra si grate,
 Si belle e delicate,
 D'un amoroso incendio arsero allhora,
 E quel soave ardor serbono anchora.
 E di tanta virtù piene restaro
 Dapoi che'l nudo e bel corpo lavaro.¹⁶

Two rather faint echoes of the theme in Ronsard may here be recorded. The first occurs in his "Stances de la fontaine d'Hélène" (1578):

Je voulois de ma peine esteindre la memoire:
 Mais Amour qui avoit en la fontaine beu,
 Y laissa son brandon, si bien qu'au lieu de boire
 De l'eau pour l'estancher, ie n'ay beu que de feu.¹⁷

The second is found in a sonnet following the "Stances":

Amour du rouge sang des Geans tout souillé,
 Essuyant en ceste eau son beau corps despoillé,
 Y laissa pour iamais ses feux et sa teinture.

We promised some way back to present evidence of the influence, within the sixteenth century, of "D'Arco's" version of the theme. Certainly, the lines now to be quoted seem to betray that influence, but are they from the sixteenth century? I have seen them twice printed, once in the *Anthologia epigrammatum* of Matteo Toscano ([Bordeaux, 1620], p. 145), and again in the *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italorum*, edited by G. Bottari ([Florence, 1719-26], IV, 182). Toscano's volume is, I have supposed, made up of his own compositions.¹⁸ But Bottari gives the epigram as the work of Matthaeus Faetanus of Naples, a writer I fail to trace beyond Bottari's collection.¹⁹ If the verses were unknown before 1620, they are, of course,

¹⁶ Luigi Groto, *Rime* (Venice, 1587), p. 21. The *Rime* first appeared in 1577.

¹⁷ *Œuvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux (Paris, 1887-91), I, 332.

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unavailable for comparison with Shakespeare; but, with the reader's patience, good reason will appear for supposing them to have been known before 1599. They follow:

DE AMORE AD BAIAS DORMIENTE

Dum Baiis dormiret Amor prope littus in umbra,
Murmure detentus lene fluentis aquae,
Conspexere illum Nymphae multo igne coruscum,
Et raptas lymphis supposuere faces.
Quis gelidam credat subito exarsisse liquorem
Atque inde aeternos emicuisse focos?
Nec mirum, his flammis, toties quibus arserat aether,
Vos quoque perpetuum si caluistis aquae.

The resemblance to the version of "D'Arco" is striking: the same number of lines, localization at Baiae, similarity of construction in the *dum*-clause (vs. 1) and in *Quis . . . credat* (vs. 5), and further coincidence of vocabulary: "umbra," "murmure detentus (captus)," "aeternos focos (ignes)," "gelidam liquorem." There are three important differences: the present epigram returns to the Nymphs of the Greek where "D'Arco" introduces Venus; this epigram lacks a "reflective" phrase corresponding to "ut veteres flammis vindicet," and the final reflection is unlike that of "D'Arco." One is forced to conclude that the writer mainly imitates "D'Arco" but also knew the Greek epigram and naturally sought to evince his originality by a new ending.²⁰

Sonnet 27 of Giles Fletcher's *Licia* (1593) was long ago brought into connection with Shakespeare by Sir Sidney Lee:

The chrystal streames, wherein my love did swimme,
Melted in tears, as partners of my woe:
Her shine was such, as did the fountaine dimme,
The pearllike fountaine whiter than the snow;
Then lyke perfume, resolved with a heate,
The fountaine smoak'd, as if it thought to burne:
A Woonder strange, to see the colde so great,
And yet the fountaine into smoake to turne.
I searcht the cause, and found it to be this:
She toucht the water, and it burnt with love.

²⁰ This re-working of themes from older neo-Latin poets is found more than once in Toscano's *Anthologia*.

Quando Madonna per mia morte nacque,
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Now by her means it purchast hath that blisse,
Which all diseases quickly can remove.
Then if by you, these streames thus blessed be
(Sweet) graunt me love, and be not woorse to me.

This sonnet, as Miss Janet Scott has observed, is an imitation of Angeriano's epigram quoted above.²¹ It was a tenet of sixteenth-century poetics that the sonnet corresponds in modern literature to the epigram of the ancients,²² and certainly sixteenth-century sonneteers turned willingly to the epigram, Greek and neo-Latin, for materials. Since, however, epigrams are as a rule shorter than sonnets, the efforts of these poets to stretch such material over the frame of the sonnet are often interesting and merit study from anyone who wants to know their minds and their methods. We cannot afford space to analyze Fletcher's procedure in detail: the first quatrain is his own, as is also the final "reflection." Attention is due to the lines:

Now by her meanes it purchast hath that blisse,
Which all diseases quickly can remove.

The notion that the bath became not only hot but medicinal is perhaps implicit in all versions of the theme, but Fletcher's is the first to make it explicit. Very likely the suggestion came to him from Angeriano's "salutiferis aquis"; compare "tanta virtù" in Groto's poem, which may also be a derivative of Angeriano.

Fletcher's sonnet, after Angeriano, is somewhat off the main stream, to which we now return with a sonnet by Jean Grisel, seemingly the only sonnet before Shakespeare to be built strictly on this motive. It was published in Grisel's *Premières œuvres poétiques*.²³

Amour, lassé de courir par le monde,
S'alla poser dessus le bord d'un bain,
Où plus l'endroit estoit d'ombrage plein;
Puis s'endormit au murmure de l'onde.
Là mainte Nimphe arrivant vagabonde,
Voyant ce dieu ne mouvoir pied ny main,

²¹ Janet G. Scott, *Les Sonnets Elizabéthains* (Paris, 1929), p. 313. Twenty-three of Fletcher's sonnets are from Angeriano. Is Fletcher's imaginary "Licia," then, perhaps a quasi-anagram of Angeriano's lady "Caelia"?

²² See the evidence quoted in *Anthology in Italy* (pp. 56-57), to which much more could be added.

²³ (Rouen, 1599), p. 79. Grisel was a native of Rouen, but virtually nothing more is known of him (cf. Goujet, *Bibl. Fr.*, XIII, 451).

Mit dedans l'eau le feu dont l'inhumain
 Rend sa nature en malice fœconde.
 Au lieu d'esteindre on vit que le flambeau
 Du bain jazard eschauffa toute l'eau,
 Tant que depuis chaude elle est demeurée.
 Qui s'en estonne? il a bien sceu chauffer
 Par tant de fois l'Océan et l'Enfer
 Et le lambris de la voute etherée.

The reader cannot have failed to see that Grisel is here reproducing the Latin epigram of Toscano or Faetanus, for the concluding "reflection" can hardly have had any other source:

Nec mirum, his flammis, toties quibus arserat aether,
 Vos quoque perpetuum si caluistis aquae.

Here, too, are the Nymphs, "ombrage" echoes "umbra," "murmure de l'onde" is "murmure aquae," "depuis chaude elle est demeurée" translates "aeternos focos," and "Qui s'en estonne" represents "Nec mirum." Save that Baiae is not mentioned, very little is altered. Only the addition of the "reflective" sentiment "le feu dont l'inhumain/Rend sa nature en malice fœconde" is perhaps notable, since this element is absent from the Latin version; but probably it is here no more than padding. Baiae belongs to the atmosphere of classical Latin and is naturally omitted in a vernacular poem.

Since Grisel imitates the epigram of Toscano or Faetanus, that epigram was available before 1599, and hence the epigram on which it, in turn, was based—"D'Arco's" version—must have been available in the sixteenth century.

The German poem in eight eight-line stanzas brought forward by Taussig in 1904 (*Jahrbuch*, XL, 232) need not detain us since it was not published until 1624;²⁴ but a summary may be interesting as showing one more early variation of the theme. The poem "explains" how the medicinal baths of Baden near Vienna became warm: Venus and Cupid come to a spring, and fall asleep, Cupid having laid beside him his torch, arrow, and weapons. A maiden of the place saw them, said, "Ah, that is the god that burns my heart, I will play a trick on him," and plunged the torch deep in the spring. The waters took fire from the unquenchable torch. Amor awoke in alarm, looked for his

²⁴ It has been ascribed to Christoph von Schallenberg (1561-97).

brand, and found it in the spring. Drawing it forth he said: "Henceforth whoever bathes here shall feel my fire." And ever since, Baden has had the virtue and power of healing old and young.

I see no way of determining how the writer of this poem came by the subject. He has evidently altered the circumstances to suit his purpose. Certainly, he is not dependent on Stigel, who omits the very point here emphasized, namely, the creation of the warm bath; that, like Stigel, he makes Love draw the brand from the spring is probably an accidental resemblance. We might guess that his source, if not the Greek epigram itself, was closer to it than the Baiae poems, since these all omit point (3)—the intrusting of the torch to the Nymphs, here represented, as in the Italian version, by Love's laying his weapons aside: "Ihr Sohn legt neben sich sein Fakel, Pfeil und Wafffen." The insistence in this poem on the curative power of the bath probably has no other origin than the fact that the waters of Baden are actually medicinal.

Such is the history, as far as I am able to trace it, of the theme before it came to Shakespeare. Evidently there are missing links. From the material at hand, then, the most likely account seems to be the following. The verses of Regianus are probably independent of the Greek epigram. Those of "D'Arco" are an imitation of the Greek and were perhaps composed about the same time as Regianus' epigram and in the same atmosphere. That they were known in Italy in the fifteenth century is certain from their appearance in a manuscript of that period in the company of humanist poems. The Greek Anthology was first printed in 1494. The earliest modern exercise on the theme is that of Angeriano (1512), possibly suggested by the Greek epigram but more likely by one of the Latin epigrams to which, in any case, it probably owes its localization at Baiae. From Angeriano's poem that of Groto may be derived, while that of Fletcher certainly is. The verses of "D'Arco" were printed in 1533, and from them are descended the remaining Baiae poems—those of Faetanus or Toscano, Griseli, and Stigel; but these are corrected to the Greek epigram by the restoration of the Nymphs, whose place had been taken by Venus in Regianus and "D'Arco," and by Caelia in Angeriano. Saint-Gelais's "Fortune" suggests that his original belonged to the uncorrected Baiae tradition, whereas Le Duchat's "Naiades" suggests the cor-

rected version, though neither his nor Ronsard's allusion to the theme can be satisfactorily accounted for. Meanwhile, a fairly close translation, now lost, of the Greek epigram occasioned the Italian version published in the *Versi et regole* (1539), though even here the influence of the Baiae poems, presumably "D'Arco," is felt in the addition of Baiae to the plane tree for the *mise-en-scène*. The only direct translation that we have from the Greek epigram, before Lubinus' prose version of the Anthology, is that of Sabeo published in 1556. The German poem on Baden cannot be accounted for but seems close to the Greek epigram. Thus we have two traditions—the one that of the Baiae poems springing, perhaps, from "D'Arco's" epigram (itself an imitation of the Greek), the other directly from the Greek epigram. There is interplay between the two traditions, but on the whole the tradition of the Baiae poems is the stronger.

SHAKESPEARE, SONNET 153

Cupid laid by his brand and fell a sleepe,
 A maide of *Dyans* this advantage found,
 And his love-kindling fire did quickly steepe
 In a could vallie-fountaine of that ground:
 Which borrowd from this holie fire of love,
 A datelesse lively heat still to indure,
 And grew a seething bath which yet men prove,
 Against strang malladies a soveraigne cure:
 But at my mistres eie loves brand new fired,
 The boy for triall needes would touch my brest,
 I sick withall the helpe of bath desired,
 And thether hied a sad distemperd guest.
 But found no cure, the bath for my help lies,
 Where *Cupid* got new fire, my mistres eyes.

SONNET 154

The little Love-God lying once a sleepe,
 Laid by his side his heart inflaming brand,
 Whilst many Nymphes that vou'd chast life to keep,
 Came tripping by, but in her maiden hand,
 The fayrest votary tooke up that fire,
 Which many Legions of true hearts had warm'd,
 And so the Generall of hot desire,
 Was sleeping by a Virgin hand disarm'd.

This brand she quenched in a coole Well by,
 Which from loves fire tooke heat perpetuall,
 Growing a bath and healthfull remedy,
 For men diseasd, but I my Mistrisse thrall,
 Came there for cure and this by that I prove,
 Loves fire heates water, water cooles not love.

We have remarked that there is a field for interesting observation in the study of the composition of sixteenth-century sonnets made from epigrams, and we may add in passing that such observation would be fruitful if begun with the French *Pléiade*, who employed such sources frankly and were conscious artists. Broadly speaking, there can be but two methods of stretching an epigram upon the frame of the sonnet. The one method makes an entire sonnet out of an epigram by stretching and diluting (compare *Grisel* above), while the other (frequent with Ronsard) agglutinates the epigram and other matter borrowed elsewhere or original.

In these two sonnets Shakespeare, whether consciously or not, has given examples of both methods. In Sonnet 153 the borrowed theme is set down compactly in the first six lines and a half, and is "agglutinated" to the poet's original conceits that follow. In Sonnet 154 the borrowed theme runs into line eleven but has to be diluted. The dilution is cleverly made a cement by carrying a motive of its own, virginity: "that you'd chaste life to keep," "but in her maiden hand," "and so . . . by a Virgin hand disarm'd." Sonnet 153, however, is the more original in the sense that more of it is wholly given up to the poet's added inventions. In Sonnet 154 he is more interested in the epigram, in getting it into sonnet form. He had to invent for it a pointed ending, and this perhaps suggested to him the fancies to which he gave scope in Sonnet 153 by the alternate method of composition.

Granted the uncertainty of this last point, let us, nevertheless, look more closely at Sonnet 154. Of the elements belonging to the theme we here lack (1) localization, whether plane trees, shade, or Baiae; but we have (2) Love asleep, (3) his torch laid by, (4) the Nymphs, (5) a "reflective" phrase: "that fire / Which many legions of true hearts had warm'd," and, of course, (6) the heating of the waters and (7) the resulting hot bath. This analysis obliges us to

eliminate as possible sources of Shakespeare all the *Baiae* poems that we have found, since all these pass over (3), the torch laid by or handed to the Nymphs. This, although the insistence on the eternal heat of the bath in both sonnets at first sight seems to reflect those poems: "tooke heat perpetuall" and "D'Arco," "aeternos concipit ignes" and although one pauses on Grisel's "*Là mainte Nimphe arrivant vagabonde*" recalling "Whilst many Nymphes . . . /Came tripping by." As for this last parallel, indeed, lines 3-4 of Sonnet 154 seem to be mainly padding, like lines 7-8. If they are, it is noteworthy that the borrowed element of this sonnet, as well as that of 153, is contained in just over six lines—the six lines that Shakespeare would have found in a Latin translation of the Greek epigram or in the Greek epigram itself.

To return for a moment to the matter of priority. A very literal reader of Sonnet 154 might notice that the first two lines are deficient in sense; they make the love-god in his sleep perform the act of laying aside his brand:

The little Love-God lying once a sleepe,
Laid by his side his heart inflaming brand.

Noticing this difficulty Shakespeare in his second attempt wrote very plainly:

Cupid laid by his brand and fell a sleepe.

Is he so likely to have gone in the opposite direction? But the main object in Sonnet 153 is compression. Here we have two lines compressed into one. Next "a maide of Dyans" says compactly all that in 154 is spread over two lines and a half (and "a maide of Dyans" is further from the original "Nymphs" retained in 154). The padding is left out. Still more notable, the "reflective" phrase, something like which he certainly found in his original, is wholly sacrificed in 153. This point is, perhaps, decisive for the priority of 154. Finally, he compressed so well in lines 1-5 of 153 that he had to dilute again in line 6, and "heat perpetuall" of 154 becomes "A datelesse lively heat still to indure." We may be sure that the eternity of the heat was not so emphasized in his original.

Though Shakespeare is closer to the Greek epigram than he is to the *Baiae* poems, his management of the theme suggests that he did

not draw immediately on the epigram. That he omits localization is perhaps without significance; but other points are worth notice. Love's brand is laid by his side, not laid by, or handed to, the Nymphs. There is no conspiracy of the Nymphs in direct address. The act—"This brand she quenched in a coole Well by"—is not represented in the Greek. There is as little likelihood, therefore, that the translations by Sabeo or Lubinus were known to Shakespeare.

We recur to the beginning of Sonnet 154:

The little Love-God lying once a sleepe,
Laid by his side his heart inflaming brand.

This slight absurdity occurs in the Italian version of the *Versi et regole*, and in no other version that we have found:

Amore
Dormendo stanco, presso posò la face.

That version, furthermore, is fairly close to the original, in six lines but without the dialogue of the Nymphs. Where the Greek has "placing it by [in the care of] the Nymphs" (Sabeo: "apposta iam lampade Nymphis"), the Italian and the English say, "Laid it by his side," "presso posò" (cf., however, also the German poem on Baden). "The fayrest votary" (singular) might represent "Naiade Calliroe." "Took up that fire" looks like "toltola"; and the act is described in the Italian as by Shakespeare: "I'immerse nel vago freddo rio," where also "freddo rio" and "coole Well" represent a point not made in the Greek. There is less correspondence between the "reflective" phrases of the two versions; but "heat perpetuall" could be sufficiently accounted for by "sempre coccenti." There might even be a small involuntary—and hence all the more significant—memory of "già" in Shakespeare's "once" in his first line.

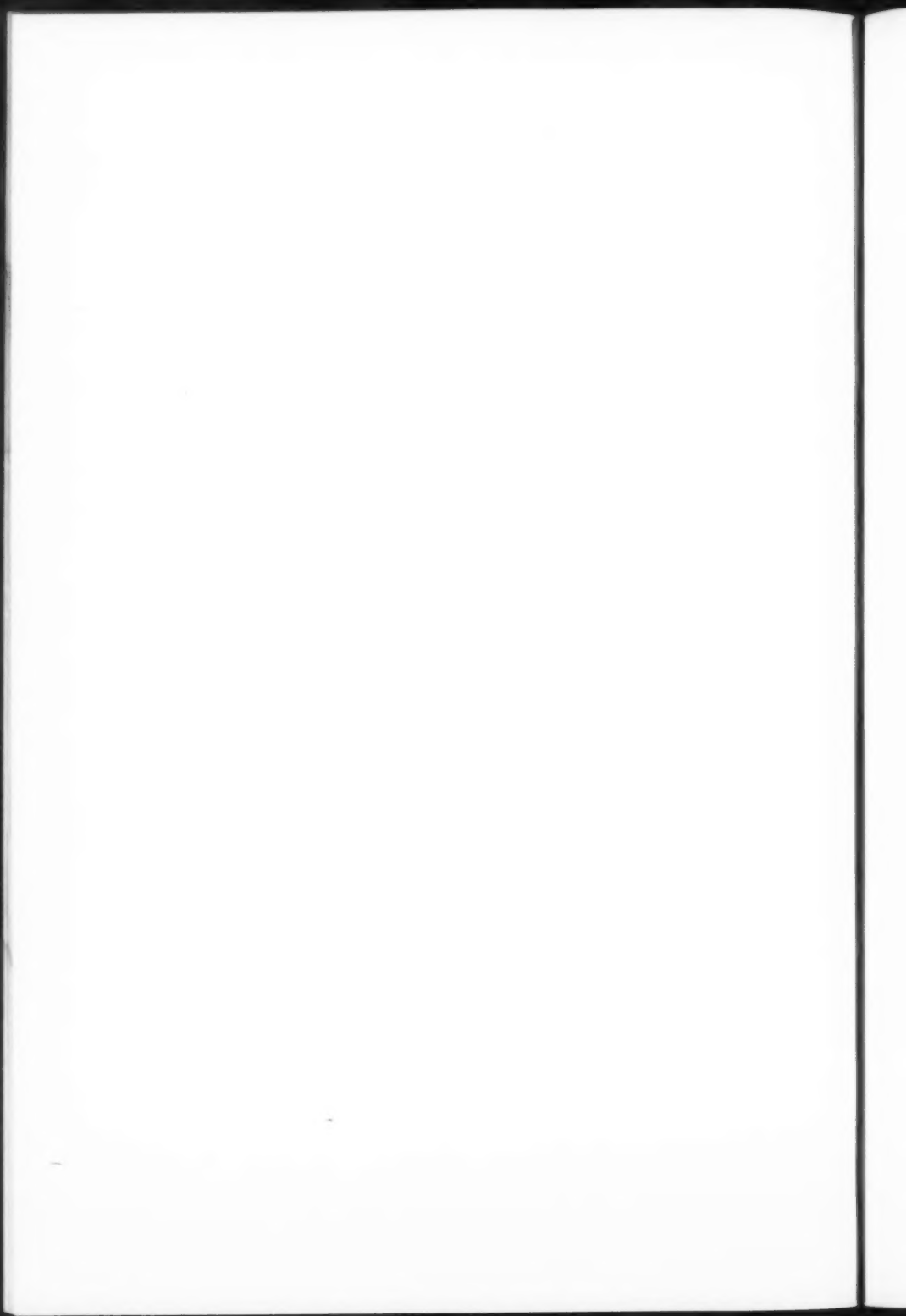
On the other hand, I seem to find fatal objections to regarding this Italian version as Shakespeare's immediate source. First, the Nymphs of the Greek epigram reappear in Shakespeare, and it would be too much to suppose that he had restored them accidentally out of "Naiade Calliroe." Second, the reflective phrase, "That many legions of true hearts had warm'd," is somewhat closer to *πῦρ κραιδίης μερόπων* than to "de li gioveni amanti pietosa," which, besides, occurs too early in the poem. Third, while the bath is certainly implied in the

Italian, it is not actually mentioned as in the Greek and in Shakespeare. Finally, Shakespeare in both sonnets regards the torch as really quenched—a point that the Greek leaves somewhat uncertain, while in the Italian the torch is not quenched. Of these objections the most important is the first concerning the Nymphs.

Thus Shakespeare's immediate source still eludes us, though we know somewhat better than before what we should expect to find.²⁵ In the state to which the question is brought by the present paper, it is noteworthy that the mistaken translation of *Nύμφαις λαμπάδα παρθέμενος* ("laid by his brand"; "presso posò la face"; "legt neben sich sein Fackel") occurs only in the three versions for which we are unable to suggest a direct source. More light on *Statio Romano* would be acceptable.

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²⁵ That in Shakespeare the bath became medicinal as well as hot is probably, as Sidney Lee suggested, a reminiscence of Fletcher; but there is no certainty even of that until the source of the main theme is determined.



THE SOURCES OF *I PROMESSI SPOSI*

JERROLD ORNE

MOST scholars and critics have insisted on tracing the theme of Manzoni's *Promessi sposi* to sources and models in the literary field to which that work belongs. This is the conventional method of investigation. Since Manzoni's masterpiece is a historical novel, subtitled *Storia milanese del secolo XVII*, it was as obvious as it was compulsory to relate it to the factual and documentary material on which Manzoni worked and to the exemplars of the historical novel which had preceded his classicization of that romantic literary genre. We have nothing to object or to add to what has been said about the influence of Walter Scott on Manzoni, or about the close resemblance of Diderot's *Religieuse* to the episode of the nun of Monza, or about any other visible origin of the tale. It may, however, be of some interest to trace other sources in fields that lie far apart from the beaten track of the historical novel. Several of them, especially those belonging to the fields of comedy and melodrama, were more effective on Manzoni's imagination and structural style than those whose contributions are patent to the observer. They have usually been overlooked; in most cases it is likely that Manzoni himself was only dimly, or not at all, aware of them.¹

By reduction of *I Promessi sposi* to its fundamental elements, one finds a simple theme of *matrimonio contrastato*. Renzo and Lucia wish to marry and are circumvented by the vicious and powerful Don Rodrigo. These are the three angles of the triangle upon which the whole structure is built. Let us then look for an early representation of this fundamental theme.

Recalling some famous beauties whose charms inspired and motivated great political changes, one quickly recollects Helen of Troy, the Roman Lucretia, and Cleopatra. From the large number of classic examples, we may choose two which seem particularly close to our field of investigation. One of the early models is found in the

¹ For this thought and several suggestions utilized in this study I am indebted to G. A. Borgese's "Recensione ai Promessi sposi," *Illustrazione italiana*, 1927, pp. 586-89.

history of Livy, and it will provide us with a point of departure. The story of the famous "Virginia Romana" may be recalled in a few words. Virginia is the beautiful daughter of Lucius Virginius, an officer in the Roman army. She is pledged to Lucius Icilius, a tribune whom she loves with a pure love. The decemvir Appius Claudius has seen Virginia, and he desires her passionately. He intends to have her, come what may, and to gain his desire he schemes with an underling, Marcus Claudius, the plot being that, in the absence of her father, Marcus Claudius is to seize Virginia by claiming her as his slave. The case was to be brought before Appius Claudius, who would naturally decide in favor of his henchman. The girl then would be handed over to Appius, since a master might dispose of his slave in any way he wished. The father of Virginia arrives in time to interrupt these proceedings but not before Appius has declared Virginia the slave of Marcus. In order to prevent her shame, Lucius Virginius kills Virginia, his own daughter. The Romans lacked only this spark to kindle the flame of their hatred for the decemvirs, and the result was the death of Appius and the overthrow of his administration. This event is said to have occurred in 449 B.C.

Obviously this recital is of serious political import. It must also be apparent that such a theme is as old as man, but here for the first time is a clear relation of such an episode together with the circumstances about it. Of perhaps lesser importance is the second early model, found this time in a comedy of Plautus. The *Casina* revives the theme of *matrimonio contrastato*, but in a considerably less serious manner.

Cleostrata undertakes the care of a homeless girl, Casina, who soon grows up to be beautiful. Both Stalino, the husband of Cleostrata, and Euthynicus, her son, desire the beautiful slave. As a means to their end, each one plans to have her marry a personal servant, thereby to have possession of her. Stalino wishes her to marry Olympius, his bailiff, and Euthynicus destines her for Chalinus, his armor-bearer. For obvious reasons, Cleostrata favors her son and plans a trick to turn the issue. Chalinus is dressed in women's clothes and substituted for Casina. When Olympius and Stalino then try to claim their rights, they are beaten by Chalinus severely. Their duplicity being discovered, Stalino withdraws his suit and begs forgiveness of his wife. Casina is discovered to be of noble birth, and Euthynicus is married to her.

Plautus' treatment of our story is new inasmuch as it transmutes seriousness into lightness. As it is presented here, the theme does not propose a moral lesson in politics; on the contrary, it is much closer to a farce. Largely the relation of a trick that failed, its mood is that of frivolous slapstick, with no apparent serious intent. No one is harmed, the joke is played, and in the end happiness reigns.

Now since our first presentation was of political import, we may next consider another event of primary importance in the history of Sicily, which seems to reproduce elements of an old story. Let us examine the story of this event as it is related by the historian Amari:

Per questo allor lieto campo, fiorito di primavera, il martedì a vespro, per uso e religione, i cittadini alla chiesa treano: ed eran frequenti le brigate, andavano, alzavan le mense, sedeano a crocchi, intrecciavano lor danze: fosse vizio o virtù di nostra natura, respiravan da' rei travagli un istante, allorchè i famigliari del giustiziere apparvero; e un ribrezzo strinse tutti gli animi. Con l'usato piglio veniano gli stranieri a mantenere, dicean essi, la pace. A ciò mischiavansi nelle brigate, entravano nelle danze, abbordavan domesticamente le donne; e qui una stretta di mano; e qui trapassi altri di licenza; alle più lontane, parole e disdicevoli gesti. Onde chi pacatamente ammonilli se n'andasser con Dio senza far villania alle donne, e chi brontolò; ma i rissosi giovani alzarono la voce sì fieri, che i sergenti dicean tra loro: "Armati son questi paterini ribaldi, ch'osan rispondere," e però rimbeccarono ai nostri più atroci ingiurie; vollero per dispetto frugarli indosso se portasser arme; altri diede con bastoni o nerbi ad alcun cittadino. Già d'ambo i lati battean forte i cuori. In questo una giovane di rara bellezza, di nobil portamento e modesto, con lo sposo, coi congiunti avviavasi al tempio. Droetto francese, per onta o licenza, a lei si fa come a richiedere d'armi nascose; e la dà di piglio, le cerca il petto. Svenuta cadde in braccio allo sposo, lo sposo soffocato di rabbia: "Oh muoiano, urlò, muoiano una volta questi Francesi!" Ed ecco dalla folla che già traeva, s'avventa un giovane; afferra Droetto; il disarmo, il trafigge; ei medesimo forse cade ucciso al momento, restando ignoto il suo nome e l'essere, e se amor dell'ingiurata donna, impeto di nobil animo, o altissimo pensiero il movessero a dar via così al riscatto. I forti esempi, più che ragione e parola, i popoli infiammano. Si destaron quegli chiavi del lungo servaggio. "Muoiano, muoiano i Francesi!" gridarono; e'l grido, come voce de Dio, dicon le storie de' tempi, echeggiò, per tutta la campagna, penetrò tutti i cuori. Cadono su Droetto vittime dell'una e dell'altra gente: e la moltitudine si scompiglia, si spande, si serra; i nostri con sassi, bastoni e coltelli disperatamente abbaruffavansi con gli armati da capo a piè; cercavanti, incalzavanti, e segulano orribili casi tra gli apparecchi festivi, e le rovesciate

mense macchiate di sangue. La forza del popolo spiegossi, e superchiò. Breve indi la zuffa; grossa la strage de' nostri: ma eran dugento i Francesi, e ne cadder dugento.²

The single incident seems slight at first glance, but history records it as the last straw added to the burden of shame inflicted upon the Sicilians by the French under Charles of Anjou. The uprising which started from this incident spread until the whole of Sicily was in revolution, and the French were massacred to the last man. The Sicilians then invited Peter III, King of Aragon, to unite with them against the revenge of Charles. Peter had long since anticipated, even fomented, this uprising, and he was ready to take his part in it. The Sicilian Vespers (1282), as this event came to be called, proved to be no less than the starting-point of the independence of Sicily. This story has distinct points of resemblance to the brief history of the "Virginia Romana." In each case the avalanche is launched by an unwarranted assertion of power over a woman by a tyrant or a representative of a tyrant. Each time it is a young and beautiful girl, already attached to a young gallant, who is the object of the attack, and the result is sudden disaster for the despot and his party.

It is with a quite different attitude that Machiavelli renews the history we are following. In his *Clizia* (before 1525) Machiavelli recalls Boccaccio's verve in the manner of presentation. The material of the theme will surely bring to mind the *Casina* of Plautus. The adventure of *Clizia* can be outlined in a few words:

Sofronia and her husband Nicomaco have brought up a girl of uncertain origin. This girl, Clizia, is now the object of the affections of both Nicomaco and his son Cleandro. These two men have also a plan to obtain their desired end by marrying Clizia to one of their servants. Sofronia is opposed to Nicomaco's plan and, knowing his aim, seeks to upset his plans. After chance, in the form of a lottery, decides in favor of Nicomaco's candidate, Sofronia decides on a plan. Siro, one of the servants, is dressed in Clizia's clothes and takes her place in the bridal bed. Nicomaco is forced to retire ungracefully from the bridal chamber only after taking a beating at the hands of Siro. Nicomaco is then at the mercy of Sofronia, his wife, and he is obliged to give her a free hand in the disposition of Clizia. The father of Clizia turns up, and, with her identity established, Cleandro is at once betrothed to her.

Machiavelli has designed his farce with the primary purpose of amusement. A few phrases from his prologue to *Clizia* will illustrate.

² Michele Amari, *La Guerra del Vespro siciliano* (Italia, n.p., 1849), I, 142 ff.

Sono trovate le comedie per giovare e per dilettere alli spettatori.... Ma, volendo dilettere, è necessario muovere li spettatori a riso, il che non si può fare mantenendo il parlare grave e severo; perchè le parole che fanno ridere sono, o sciocche, o iniuriose, o amorose. È necessario pertanto rappresentare persone sciocche, malediche, o innamorate, e perciò quelle comedie che sono piene di queste tre qualità di parole, sono piene di risa; quelle che ne mancano, non truovono chi con il ridere le accompagni.³

In this same prologue Machiavelli refers to the play of Plautus as his source in a very direct way, though he does not name it.⁴ There can be no doubt that this is the *Casina* with a Venetian setting instead of Athenian, and Italian instead of classic names.

Now the swing of our pendulum brings us again to a tragedy. We next find our theme in a drama of Lessing, *Emilia Galotti* (1772). Our Virginia is this time named Emilia, but her story changes very little.

Emilia Galotti is betrothed to the Count Appiani, but she is passionately desired by Hettore Gonzaga, the Prince of Guastalla, whom she disdains and fears. She has just reason to fear him, for his passion brooks no obstacle. In a last effort to obtain her, the Prince gives carte blanche to his chamberlain Marinelli. There is an attempt to kidnap Emilia, during which Count Appiani is killed, and Emilia falls into the hands of the Prince. The mother of Emilia is completely hoodwinked by the wily Prince. Odoardo Galotti, however, is not fooled by the subterfuges of the libertine, and he comes to claim his child. When he finds himself circumvented on all sides, he takes Emilia's life at her own request.

This is indeed our "Virginia Romana."⁵ Again the father is forced, by a lust-maddened tyrant, to resort to the most terrible solution. Naturally in the course of the centuries Virginia has become somewhat changed, and we must now consider the rise and fall of a particular feudal custom of the Middle Ages. With the rise of feudal administration, there appeared a number of new customs dependent upon the feudal relationship. Among others, there was one custom which gave a lord the nuptial rights of the first night with the woman his vassal might choose to marry with his permission. In effect this

³ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Le Commedie*, introduzione e note di Domenico Guerri (Torino: Unione tipografico-editrice torinese, 1932), p. 78.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁵ In a letter to Friedrich Nicolai on January 21, 1758, Lessing describes his Emilia Galotti as "eine bürgerliche Virginia" (*Schriften*, XVII, 132 ff.). It is also significant that Lessing had transcribed the Spanish *Virginia* of Don Augustino de Montiano y Luyando in 1754 (*ibid.*, VI, 70 ff.).

barbarous practice did not outlive feudal times, but it joined with the Virginia legend in the eyes of posterity. It was Voltaire, who, even before Lessing, found in this legend and this custom appropriate material for his lampoons. It is to the *Droit du seigneur* (ca. 1763) of Voltaire that we must turn to see how Virginia fared in modern times.

An old farmer, Mathurin, wishes to marry Colette, against her wishes. Her stepmother encourages his suit, and all seems to be arranged except that the bailiff refuses to marry them without the permission of the seigneur. The seigneur is supposed to appear the following day, but Mathurin wishes his marriage to be consummated at once in order to evade the custom of the *droit du seigneur*. The bailiff refuses, and by devious means the ceremony is postponed until the arrival of the Chevalier de Gernance and later his master, the Marquis du Carrage. The Marquis approves the marriage and proposes to exercise his right only in so far as to assure himself that Colette is not being forced to marry the old farmer. Just after this tête-à-tête, Colette is kidnapped by the Chevalier, who is unable to force her. Immediately afterward it is discovered that Colette is the sister of the Chevalier and the Marquis himself asks for her hand.

Voltaire has given us a greatly altered Virginia—if it be Virginia. Colette indeed is more fearful of the old Mathurin and her heartless stepmother than she is of the *droit du seigneur*. Indeed the naïveté of the two girls Colette and Acanthe concerning this custom makes it appear ridiculous:

Acanthe

Dis-moi d'abord, Colette, en quoi consiste ce fameux droit du seigneur.

Colette

Oh, ma foi!
 Va consulter de plus doctes que moi.
 Je ne suis point mariée; et l'affaire,
 à ce qu'on dit, est un très-grand mystère,
 Seconde-moi, fais que je vienne à bout
 d'être épousée, et je te dirai tout.

This ingenuous Colette is indeed far from the candid Virginia, yet she is of the family. With Voltaire, however, the chastity of women was proportionate only to their position in society, and we must remember that, though Colette represents a country girl of an earlier period, her heart and ideals are those of the degenerate early eight-

centh-century French court lady. She is, therefore, a Virginia of her own time and, as such, worthy of her ancestress.⁶

As we have seen, before Voltaire we have tragic or comic treatments of this theme. In each case it has been decidedly one type or the other. With Voltaire we have a potential hybrid. We cannot call it a tragedy, nor can we call it a comedy. It may be regarded best as a transitional type which facilitated the advent of the comedies of Beaumarchais. These were more than mere comedies because of the heavy burden of satirical criticism they had to carry. Upon the surface the face is grotesque; the purpose is to amuse in the way Machiavelli conceived just. But beneath the gay mask lay the tortured grimace of class struggle, a war to the death with the old regime. We are here obliged to depart slightly from our heroic "Virginia Romana," for the first play of Beaumarchais is concerned not with the same theme but rather with a prelude to it.

The *Barbier de Seville* is important to us inasmuch as it sets the vogue and the stage for *Le Mariage de Figaro*. In the *Barbier*, Figaro, the adept valet, invents and carries out a succession of tricks to enable his master Almaviva to obtain the hand of Rosina. Rosina is the ward and beloved of old Bartolo, who struggles to outlast the scheming of Figaro, but who fails in the end to prevent the marriage of Almaviva and Rosina. It is indeed the theme of *matrimonio contrastato*, but in a frivolous vein. Old Bartolo plays the tyrant, but his aspirations are so hopeless and his struggles against unquenchable youth are so futile that the finale is never in doubt. The satire superimposed upon this frail structure is proportionate to it. It is still elementary, not fiercely pointed. It is primarily the ridicule of character and only secondarily criticism of custom. This same lightness and brightness finds its counterpart in the music of Rossini, who shortly afterward revived the *Barbier* with his charming music. To return to Beaumarchais, however, we find now the way prepared for the great day of Figaro, as told in the *Mariage de Figaro*.

Figaro, a sort of factotum in the employ of Count Almaviva, is on the point of marrying Suzanne, the first maid of the Countess. Figaro has in the past,

⁶ Benedetto Croce, *A. Manzoni, saggi e discussioni* (Bari: Laterza, 1930), pp. 103-7. Croce remarks the influence of Voltaire upon the literary style of Manzoni—not so much for material as for manner. He indicates several parallels between the *contes* of Voltaire and *I Promessi sposi*.

however, borrowed a large sum of money from Marceline, an older woman also in the service of the Count, and Marceline proposes to have her money back or Figaro as husband, according to their agreement. The Count favors the marriage of Figaro with Suzanne, because he hopes to be allowed to claim the *droit du seigneur*, though he had renounced this right when he married Rosine. Bazile serves as the intermediary of the Count. Suzanne rejects the proposals of Bazile and the Count as well, and she plots with the Countess and Figaro to expose the philandering of the Count. The Count is wary, however, and seems to favor Marceline. A fortuitous recognition reveals that Marceline is the mother of Figaro, and this plan is frustrated. Yet the Countess and Suzanne propose to expose the Count, chiefly to bring him back to his first love. Figaro inadvertently misunderstands the scheme, and he also partakes in the final scene where the Count is exposed, Suzanne is justified, Figaro is chastened, and the Countess forgives the Count who promises to give over his pretensions. Suzanne and Figaro find themselves very well rewarded for their constancy.

It would not be reasonable to close this range of possible sources without considering one of Manzoni's famed predecessors. Alfieri's *Virginia* (ca. 1783) is no bland imitation of another dramatist. Alfieri very simply states his source, and to illustrate his work, he includes a citation of the passages from Livy, together with a translation in Italian. The theme is little altered; it is an unalloyed dramatization. This play was chronologically almost a twin of Beaumarchais' *Figaro*. The material has now become common ground for the exercise of dramatic art. These two plays were each cast in a different mold, if ever mold could be said to restrain the exuberance of Figaro. There can be no better illustration of the universality of the theme. Here are two top-flight dramatists in two countries, independently treating the same theme in a different manner. It would be pointless to repeat the *Virginia* story, since we have already reviewed Livy, and the only important change Alfieri made was to have Icilius assassinated during one of the trial scenes.

With this wide range of sources, let us now consider *I Promessi sposi*, to see if we can ascertain which, if any, Manzoni knew and utilized. For our purposes and without distorting the materials unduly, we may recast *I Promessi sposi* as a trilogy in dramatic form. We may take chapters i through xviii to be the first play. In it the problem is launched, and most of the important characters are already in action. We know that Renzo and Lucia wish to be married

by Don Abbondio, but this marriage is prevented by the unscrupulous Don Rodrigo, whose power is such that Lucia can escape it only by fleeing her homeland. The end of the first part then finds our hero, Renzo, biding his time in Bergamo, until more propitious conditions appear. Lucia has taken refuge in a convent at Monza. Don Rodrigo is left plotting another scheme to ensnare lovely Lucia. The transition to the second part is accomplished by the lengthy description of the turmoil in Milan. The predominating personages are Renzo and Lucia, on the one hand, and Don Abbondio and Fra Cristoforo on the other.

According to dramatic theory, the second play should include the development of the action to its apex and the beginning of its denouement. We therefore take chapters xix to xxvi to comprise Part II. In these chapters occurs the presentation of two new dominant personalities, l'Innominato and Cardinal Borromeo. Lucia is kidnapped and converts l'Innominato, and the decisive turn is made. From the moment l'Innominato is converted, the issue is no longer in doubt. Yet Manzoni is not content to leave the solving of such dire problems in the hands of ordinary mortals, and Lucia now has taken a vow of chastity which prolongs the action and provides the transition to Part III, "The Plague."

When one says "The Plague," nearly all has been said. Although the action progresses regularly, with numerous appendages, the Plague hovers over all the remaining chapters (xxvii-xxxviii) like a fog, suffusing all the action with its contaminating pestilence. We must recognize that the predominating character of this last part is the Plague. It is the final judgment of divine understanding which exceeds beyond measure the aid of l'Innominato. It is the Plague which cuts the Gordian knot and makes possible the happy consummation of the hopes of the two *sposi*.

Obviously this is only a penumbra of the profusion of incident found in *I Promessi sposi*, yet it reveals the essential substance of the plot; and within this outline we may more easily ascertain the role of Manzoni's sources, if any.

Every critique of Manzoni's masterpiece points more or less emphatically to the personal life of Manzoni as a primary source. This is certainly true, but it is also true that most critics differ in their as-

sumptions as to what are the important elements of Manzoni's character. Since we must start from life itself, let us consider first the relevant details of the life of Alessandro Manzoni.

Manzoni was born (1785) in Milan, just when this city was culturally in an ascendent phase. His mother was the daughter of the noted humanist Cesare Beccaria, and she had many of his qualities. The volatile Giulia Beccaria was not a suitable match for Manzoni's father, a mature man of forty-six, of a settled amiable disposition; this union could not be long successful. There was a definite rupture in 1792, and Giulia joined Carlo Imbonati in Paris. Alessandro was then placed in school. He was educated at Merate, Lugano, and Milano;⁷ and, after some violent reactions against his professors, he left school to throw himself headlong into the gay whirl of Milan.⁸ At this time, Milan was a center of activity rivaling the far-famed court life of Vienna. La Scala had been dedicated in 1778, and now (ca. 1800) it was renowned as the greatest theater in Europe. Bertarelli tells us briefly, "La vita intellettuale, civile e politica, sino a pochi anni dopo il 1860, si svolse in quel teatro e nei caffè situati nelle immediate vicinanze."⁹ The center of centers, if we may speak thus, was the "Ridotto" of La Scala.¹⁰ This was the Monte Carlo of the time, and it is there we find the young Manzoni disporting himself not in the manner of the realists, notebook in hand, but simply enjoying his first fling. There were to be few in his life.

The next important event in his life was the death of Carlo Imbonati, his mother's lover, after which he joined his mother in Paris. There he became an habitu  of the circle of Mme Condorcet and enjoyed the companionship of the few remaining representatives of the rationalist group. After intermittent visits to Italy, Manzoni married and settled finally near Milan at Brusuglio. Manzoni had long been investigating questions of faith, and his conversion to Catholicism after his wife's conversion was a climactic point in his life. There were violent repercussions in their entourage, but the younger Man-

⁷ Luigi Tonelli, *Manzoni* (Milano: Corbaccio, n.d.), pp. 14 ff.

⁸ P. Petrocchi, "La prima giovinezza di Alessandro Manzoni," *Nuova antologia*, CLII (1897), 613 ff.

⁹ Achille Bertarelli e Antonio Monti, *Tre secoli di vita milanese....* (Milano: Hoepli, 1927), p. 298.

¹⁰ Ettore Verga, *Storia della vita milanese* (Milano: N. Moneta, 1931), p. 386.

zonis stood their ground. It is from this point that stem the best known of Manzoni's works, and particularly *I Promessi sposi*.

It is to this first period of education at the hands of the Somaschi and Barnabiti that we must look for the early development of Manzoni's character. Exact information about his teachers is rare, but we can be very sure of his thorough training in classic literature. It is not at all difficult to find constant references and citations from the classics in his later writings.¹¹ He cites freely from Horace, Seneca, Plautus, Livy, Cicero, etc. What is most interesting for us is the apparent precision of his acquaintance with the text of Livy. We can make certain observations according to the books we know to have been in Manzoni's library and his marginal notes in them. There was a copy of Livy's history in his library with some of his own annotations.¹² He knew it well, and the proof is everywhere evident as he corrects the citations from it by other authors when they vary even as much as a single word.¹³ He also had among his books the *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di T. Livio* of Machiavelli.¹⁴ This volume was also annotated in such a way as to prove Manzoni's intimate understanding of Livy's work. In a like manner, citations from Plautus make it quite evident that Manzoni had read Plautus well. These classical studies formed the most intensive part of the program of the schools Manzoni attended.

For the Sicilian Vespers and Machiavelli's *Clizia* the proof is not so absolute. There were volumes of Machiavelli's works among Manzoni's books, but we have no assurance, in the form of commentaries or any other evidence, that Manzoni had read the *Clizia*. We do know that some of the works were read and annotated, and there are many parallels possible to show that Machiavelli's writings and philosophy had a real influence on Manzoni. Again for the Sicilian Vespers we have no definite citation, but it is ridiculous even to suppose that a student as assiduous in history as was Manzoni, and an Italian as well, should not be fully aware of the event. We can be certain that Manzoni knew well Dante's reference to this event,¹⁵

¹¹ A. Manzoni, *Opere* (Milano: Hoepli, 1905-12), and A. Manzoni, *Carteggio* (Milano: Hoepli, 1912), Index, s.v.

¹² Manzoni, *Opere*, II, 250.

¹³ *Ibid.*, II, 313, 350.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 232.

¹⁵ *Paradiso*, VIII, 73-75.

and such impressions are lasting. As another contributing factor we must also consider his inherent passion for equality and justice, undoubtedly a birthright of the famous Beccaria, and later aroused by his contacts in Paris. We may then safely grant that these two elements formed a part of the stratification in Manzoni's mind.

Lessing came early to the cognizance of Manzoni. The stay of Manzoni in Paris coincided precisely with the popularity of Mme de Staël, who was in turn popularizing German literature in France. Manzoni knew particularly well his contemporaries Goethe, Schiller, and Lessing. One need only compare the *Carmagnola* and *Adelchi* both in spirit and in text with their well-known German predecessors. *Emilia Galotti* had also in its favor an Italian setting and a historical theme, both elements of strong appeal to Manzoni.

With Voltaire we are again faced by uncertainty. We know of Manzoni's early interest in the Encyclopedists and their ideas and works, and we also know that some volumes of Voltaire were in the Manzoni library.¹⁶ However, Manzoni's spiritual director, Tosi, had pronounced Voltaire forbidden fruit, and no more than three volumes were left in the library when Manzoni died. It is possible that Manzoni read and destroyed progressively the works of Voltaire, but there is no assurance that he had read *Le Droit du seigneur*. In any case, Voltaire's contribution to the Virginia legend is the weakest we have yet encountered, and its influence upon Manzoni could only have been supplementary, not original.

It is with the inimitable Beaumarchais that we come more close to the kernel of our problem. Because of his large sphere of influence, we are obliged to consider both of his plays, although only one, the *Mariage de Figaro*, renews the "Virginia Romana." Not only this, but we have also to consider Rossini and Mozart, whose musical versions of Beaumarchais extended and prolonged his influence.

This is not the place to review the history of Beaumarchais' comedies. We are concerned only with their possible effect upon Manzoni. The *Barbier de Seville* was first played in 1775 and enjoyed a lasting vogue in the French theater.¹⁷ Manzoni lived in Paris approximately

¹⁶ Manzoni, *Opere*, II, 367 ff.

¹⁷ P. A. C. de Beaumarchais, *Le Mariage de Figaro*, ed. E. F. Langley (New York: Oxford University Press, 1917), p. xlv.

five years, and he was certainly familiar with this play. If he did not know the original play, he surely knew Rossini's version. We have definite knowledge of his friendly relations with Rossini; and, even if this were not true, we could still point to Manzoni's apprenticeship at La Scala, where Rossini was in great vogue. Rossini's *Almaviva, ossia l'inutile precauzione* was played at La Scala on February 5, 1816, that is, after Manzoni's first fling; but we also have definite proofs of Manzoni's love for music¹⁸ which make it positive that he frequented the opera in later years. That he knew and was known by Rossini may be seen in one brief citation:

Rossini è a Milano: spero che mettera in musica il tuo coro; gliene ho recitata una parte e mi disse che se ne poteva cavare un gran partito per il canto. Egli è divenuto grasso.... e matto al solito. I Grandi se lo rubano. È un uomo che va all'immortalità amoreggiando, ridendo, arricchendo e talvolta ubbriacandosi.¹⁹

Their relationship was that of comrade-artists. Rossini first wrote for La Scala in 1812, and his success was almost immediate. He had a difference with Paisiello, who was extremely jealous of his position, and, to avoid difficulties, his version of the *Mariage de Figaro* was called *Almaviva, ossia l'inutile precauzione*. Rossini's music swiftly carried his *Almaviva* to the top, while Paisiello's *Barbiere di Siviglia* gradually disappeared from the boards.

For Beaumarchais the *Barbier de Seville* was primarily a *mise en scène* for his later play, *Le Mariage de Figaro*. It is not likely that such an arrangement was calculated, but, since chance brought it about so, Beaumarchais was not one to hesitate before the facts. In his *Barbier* the tone is more gay. The ridicule is pointed, but the thrusts are not yet so vicious. The badinage is liberal, satiric in intent, but still restrained. It is as if Beaumarchais was trying his wings before taking flight with the invective of *La Folle journée ou le Mariage de Figaro*. The fame of Figaro raised Beaumarchais to a level with the great masters, and beyond his own period Mozart had no little part in extending and popularizing his works. Mozart found in the *Mariage de Figaro* a libretto eminently suited to his genius and, together with Da

¹⁸ Paolo Bellezza, "Manzoni e Verdi," *Nuova antologia*, CLXXV (1901), 746.

¹⁹ Manzoni, *Carteggio*, I, 446. Lettera del Marchese Ermete Visconti di S. Vito a Manzoni, November 25, 1819.

Ponte,²⁰ managed to get *Le Nozze di Figaro* on the boards at Vienna in 1786. In order to produce it, Da Ponte had to modify the libretto so it would not shock the sensibilities of Emperor Joseph II. The result was nevertheless very successful. A few extraneous intrigues were eliminated entirely, and much of the direct satire was translated into musical terms or cut out entirely. An example of this treatment is the substitution of the jealousy song in the *Nozze di Figaro* for the long Frondeur monologue in *Le Mariage de Figaro*. Jahn says, "The omission was not made so much in deference to the Emperor Joseph's scruples as with the right conviction that the political element is altogether out of place in music."²¹

Now how are we to determine which of these versions Manzoni knew? From what we have seen it would seem to be: Beaumarchais, probably; Rossini, surely; Mozart, likely. Yet we cannot believe that a man of Manzoni's intellectual curiosity, having once heard Rossini's *Barbiere*, should not have investigated the original as well. It is all the more likely because of his early interest in the Encyclopedist movement in France, and particularly because of the theme of inequality. In effect we cannot but suppose that he knew them all, as any literary man of his time would have known them. If we now consider these works in the light of Manzoni's own character, we may suppose that Mozart's *Nozze di Figaro* would interest him most; Rossini's *Barbiere* would have appealed to him most and was likely the first of the group that he knew; Beaumarchais' plays might have been the most attractive to him if he knew them while in Paris, but after his marriage and conversion, Rossini would certainly have been more to his taste.

Of the same period as Beaumarchais is the *Virginia* (1783) of Alfieri. There can be no doubt about Manzoni's thorough acquaintance with the works of Alfieri, for there are many indications in the *Carteggio* and *Epistolario*. In one letter he says, "Cette lettre ... va vous parler ... d'Alfieri, du divin, et quelquefois trop humain Alfieri."²² Elsewhere there is detailed the business of ordering a six-volume edition of Alfieri at Paris.²³ Manfredi Porena has shown²⁴ three closely

²⁰ F. A. Gailfe, *Le Mariage de Figaro* (Amiens: E. Malfère, 1928), pp. 125 ff.

²¹ Otto Jahn, *Life of Mozart* (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1882), III, 79.

²² Manzoni, *Carteggio*, I, 160.

²³ *Ibid.*, I, 61 ff.

²⁴ "Reminiscenze alfieriane nei *Promessi sposi*," *Rivista d'Italia*, 1903, pp. 678 ff.

related parallels in three separate plays of Alfieri and passages of the *Promessi sposi*. That Manzoni was profoundly influenced by the works of Alfieri is also suggested by Michele Scherillo in his edition of the *Tragedie*.²⁵ He calls the *Virginia* of Alfieri the source of an episode in Manzoni's *Il Trionfo della libertà*:

Sorgea fra gli altri il generoso Veglio
 Che involò del Tiranno ai sozzi orgogli
 La figlia intatta, e ben fu morte il meglio.
 Fu la figlia che disse al Padre:—cogli
 Questo immaturo fior; tu mi donasti
 queste misere membra, e tu le togli,
 Pria che impudico ardir le incesti e guasti;
 E in quello cadde il colpo, e impallidiro
 Le guancie, e i membri intemerati e casti,
 E uscì dal puro sen l'ultimo spiro,
 Ed a la vista orribile freméa
 Il superbo e deluso Decemviro,
 Cui stimolava la digiuna e rea
 Libidine, e struggea l'insana rabbia
 Che i già protesi invan nervi rodea:
 Qual lupo, che la preda perduto'abbia,
 Batte per fame l' avida mascella,
 Rugge, e s'addenta le digiune labbia.

Apparently Scherillo neglects the original text, for this episode may have been inspired by the original as well as by Alfieri's *Virginia*. Scherillo lists a number of other versions of the Virginia legend in Italy and elsewhere. Rolandi indicates six musical versions and various other transformations.²⁶ Obviously, the legend became progressively more and more recognized as a fertile theme as each great artist utilized it in his own way. It is not surprising, then, that Manzoni should incorporate it into his work, when all about him in varied disguise the "Virginia Romana" was appearing. It remains only to estimate, as far as possible, what was Manzoni's attitude toward this imposing array of materials. It seems to me that Manfredi Porena, in comparing Manzoni and Alfieri, has stated a fundamental law which may be extended to fit our problem:

Ma trattandosi d'uno spirito così potentemente originale come il Manzoni, di fronte ad un artista di carattere così diverso da lui, come l'Alfieri, le creazi-

²⁵ Vittorio Alfieri, *Le Tragedie*, ed. Michele Scherillo (2a ed.; Milano: Hoepli, 1923), p. 64.

²⁶ U. Rolandi, "Notizie e commenti," *Nuova antologia*, CCCXXXIII (1927), 123 ff.

oni di questo, se pur lasciano duratura impronta nell'animo dell'altro, ve la lasciano spogliandosi di tutto ciò che sa troppo di maniera individuale, vi restano in quanto, nella loro intima essenza rispecchiano profonde verità umane, in quanto, cioè, sono quasi brani di vita reale.²⁷

Porena has approached his problem in a much more sane way than Serafino Riva, who contends dogmatically that *I Promessi sposi* is drawn directly from Voltaire's *Droit du seigneur*.²⁸ This latter position is absolutely untenable. In view of the fact that Manzoni does not himself state a single source, and in other places shows no attempts at plain dissimulation, we propose not a new but a comprehensive background for a comprehensive work.

We take *l'anima* of Manzoni to be of a complex quality, having as its components a profound knowledge of the ancients; a great interest in history, especially ancient history; a fondness for music; participation in two great movements in literary history, the Encyclopedists and Romanticism; and a particularly keen interest in the literature of his great contemporaries. From these elements we derive the source materials of *I Promessi sposi*.

What, then, is the importance of this background? What could Manzoni have created to make his Lucia rank with all this illustrious family? The advance of the Virginia legend through the ages might be taken to mark the progress of ethical principles as a part of human culture. The Virginia of Livy gave rise to civil war. The Sicilian Vespers started a revolution, *Clizia*, *Le Droit du seigneur*, and *Le Mariage de Figaro*, all are instruments of revolt and violence. Each of these stories may then be considered to mark a struggle in the history of Western civilization. We have now reached the kernel of Manzoni's masterpiece. In *I Promessi sposi* we find what could only come from the combination of this powerful line of ancestry with the great humility of the devout Manzoni. He has taken the violence from the theme of Virginia and has turned the tide of the ages to give us the epic of devotion, humility, and submission.

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²⁷ Porena, p. 681.

²⁸ "*I Promessi sposi* ed una commedia del Voltaire," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, CI (1933), 100 ff.

VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1940

Edited by WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN

THIS bibliography has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: William D. Templeman, chairman, University of Illinois; Charles Frederick Harrold, Michigan State Normal College; Frederic E. Faverty, Northwestern University; and Samuel P. Chew, University of Oklahoma. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1940 (including reviews of earlier items) that have a bearing on English literature of the Victorian period and similar publications of earlier date that have been inadvertently omitted from the preceding Victorian bibliography. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1940. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1939, in *Modern philology*, May, 1940, is made by the following form: See VB 1939, 412. Some cross-references are given, although not all that are possible.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A</i>	= <i>Anglia</i>	<i>FR</i>	= <i>Fortnightly review</i>
<i>AHR</i>	= <i>American historical review</i>	<i>GRM</i>	= <i>Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift</i>
<i>AL</i>	= <i>American literature</i>	<i>HTB</i>	= <i>New York Herald-Tribune books</i>
<i>Archiv</i>	= <i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen</i>	<i>HV</i>	= <i>Historische Vierteljahrs-schrift</i>
<i>BBDI</i>	= <i>Bull. of bibliog. and dramatic index</i>	<i>HZ</i>	= <i>Historische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>Beiblatt</i>	= <i>Beiblatt zur Anglia</i>	<i>JEGP</i>	= <i>Journal of English and Germanic philology</i>
<i>BM</i>	= <i>British Museum quarterly</i>	<i>JMH</i>	= <i>Journal of modern history</i>
<i>CE</i>	= <i>College English</i>	<i>JP</i>	= <i>Journal of philosophy</i>
<i>CR</i>	= <i>Contemporary review</i>	<i>JPE</i>	= <i>Journal of political economy</i>
<i>CWd</i>	= <i>Catholic world</i>	<i>LAR</i>	= <i>Library Association record</i>
<i>DLZ</i>	= <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>	<i>LgrP</i>	= <i>Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie</i>
<i>DV</i>	= <i>Deutsche Vierteljahrschrift</i>	<i>LL</i>	= <i>Life and letters today</i>
<i>EHR</i>	= <i>English historical review</i>	<i>LM</i>	= <i>London mercury and bookman</i>
<i>ELH</i>	= <i>Journal of English literary history</i>		
<i>ES</i>	= <i>Englische Studien</i>		
<i>Est</i>	= <i>English studies</i>		
<i>Eta</i>	= <i>Etudes anglaises</i>		

<i>LQ</i>	= Library quarterly	<i>PQ</i>	= Philological quarterly
<i>LQHR</i>	= London quarterly and Holborn review	<i>QQ</i>	= Queen's quarterly
<i>LZD</i>	= Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland	<i>QR</i>	= Quarterly review
<i>Manch</i>	= Papers of the Manchester Literary Club	<i>RES</i>	= Review of English studies
<i>MF</i>	= Mercure de France	<i>RF</i>	= Revue de France
<i>MLN</i>	= Modern language notes	<i>RG</i>	= Revue germanique
<i>MLR</i>	= Modern language review	<i>RH</i>	= Revue historique
<i>MP</i>	= Modern philology	<i>RM</i>	= Revue de métaphysique et de morale
<i>M & L</i>	= Music and letters	<i>RLC</i>	= Revue de littérature comparée
<i>N</i>	= Nation	<i>RP</i>	= Revue de Paris
<i>NC</i>	= Nineteenth century and after	<i>RPh</i>	= Revue de philosophie
<i>Neo</i>	= Neophilologus	<i>RoR</i>	= Romanic review
<i>NEQ</i>	= New England quarterly	<i>S</i>	= Spectator
<i>NeuP</i>	= Neuphilologische Monatschrift	<i>SAQ</i>	= South Atlantic quarterly
<i>New R</i>	= New republic	<i>SeR</i>	= Sevanee review
<i>NR</i>	= National review	<i>SM</i>	= Scientific monthly
<i>Nrf</i>	= Nouvelle revue française	<i>SouR</i>	= Southern review
<i>NS</i>	= New statesman and nation	<i>SP</i>	= Studies in philology
<i>NYTBR</i>	= New York Times book review	<i>SRL</i>	= Saturday review of literature
<i>N & Q</i>	= Notes and queries	<i>TLS</i>	= Times literary supplement
<i>PMLA</i>	= Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Am.	<i>TQ</i>	= Univ. of Toronto quarterly
		<i>VQR</i>	= Virginia quarterly review
		<i>YR</i>	= Yale review
		<i>ZNU</i>	= Zeitschrift für neusprachlichen Unterricht

I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

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The third volume, dealing with the nineteenth century, is naturally of greatest value for scholars of the Victorian period; but all volumes are of value—the fourth, the index volume, included. Vol. III is arranged in seven parts, as follows: (1) Introduction, (2) The poetry, (3) Prose fiction, (4) The drama, (5) Critical and miscellaneous prose, (6) Philosophy, history, science, and other forms of learning, (7) The literature of the Dominions. These seven parts are divided—for instance, the introduction has these divisions: (I) Bibliographies, literary histories and special studies, prose selections, and literary memoirs and reminiscences; (II) Literary relations with the Continent; (III) The intellectual background; (IV) Book production and distribution; (V) Education; and (VI) The political and social background. Then there are subdivisions and further subdivisions.

Little more can be given here than a word of high praise, and of general explanation. Mr. Bateson has labored long, conscientiously, with tremendous energy and pains, and with most valuable effectiveness. For many, many years to come the scholars in the great field of English literature will inevitably be indebted to him and, of course, to the Cambridge University Press. This *CBEL* is a descendant of *The Cambridge history of English literature* (1907-16) and the bibliographies appended to its chapters. But the *CBEL* has "its own arrangement, scope, and style, and its own army of contributors." It is not a modern edition of the *CHEL* bibliographies, but is a modern equivalent of them, and more. Using a chronological order as far as possible, it purports to record the authors, titles, and editions, and the relevant criticism, of all the books (in English or Latin) that can be said still to have literary interest and that were published by writers native to what is now the British Empire and who were "established" by 1900. Because of the chronological order, there is basis for Mr. Bateson's contention that it is "something more than a catalogue"; that "it is, in addition, a short-hand history of English literature"; and that, "used with discretion, some of the sections will tell the diligent enquirer more about their subject-matter than does the ordinary textbook." As pointed out in the preface, the different forms and subjects have been treated in varying degrees of detail. The chief objections to the *CBEL* will be that some relatively minor authors have not been included at all and, especially, that some minor authors, though provided with partial lists of their works, have not been provided with lists of biographical and critical works about them. The lists of secondary publications ("Biography and criticism" and "Modern studies") that have been given are necessarily selective, but the editor has tried to include every important work of criticism or exposition, at least to the end of 1935 or 1936 for Vol. I, 1937 for Vol. II, and 1938 for Vol. III.—W. D. T.

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Dedicated to the thesis that the classic versus romantic conflict is fundamentally an unsound English controversy; that the genius of English poetry has never truly ceased to be "romantic," a term which applies to all that is basic in the great English poetic tradition. Contains good discussion of Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold as the principal Victorian poets. Will arouse much disagreement among all types of readers, who will compare it, unfavorably, with Lucas' *Decline and fall of the romantic ideal*. A provocative and stimulating study.—C. F. H.

Everett, Edwin Mallard. *The party of humanity: the "Fortnightly review" and its contributors, 1865-1874*. See VB 1939, 395.

Rev. by W. Graham in *MLN*, LV, 302-4.

Farrell, Ralph. *Stefan Georges Beziehungen zur englischen Dichtkunst*. ("Germanische Studien," Heft 192.) Berlin: Ebering, 1937. Pp. 239.

Rev. by Henri Tronchon in *RG*, XXX (1939), 297-99 (the most useful part, on pp. 179-220, considers the translations George made from Browning, Ruskin, Felicia Hemans, Rossetti, Swinburne, Dowson, etc.).

Fischer, Walther. *Des Darmstädter Schriftstellers Johann Heinrich Künzel (1810-1873) Beziehungen zu England. Mit ungedruckten (oder wenig bekannten) Briefen von Carlyle, Dickens, Macaulay, Chr. von Bunsen, F. Freiligrath, u. a.* ("Giessener Beiträge zur deutschen Philologie," No. 67.) Gießen: von Münchowsche Universitäts-Druckerei Otto Kindt, 1939. Pp. 80.

Rev. by F. Krog in *HZ*, CLXII, 655-56; in *ZNU*, XXXI, 89-90.

Gantz, Kenneth F. "The beginnings of Darwinian ethics." *Univ. of Texas Publication No. 3926. July 8, 1939. Studies in English, 1939*. Austin: Univ. of Texas, 1939. Pp. 180-209.

A well-documented article, with treatment especially of Darwin, but also of Huxley, Spencer, Morley, Lyell, E. B. Tyler, McLennan, Alfred R. Wallace, James Hunt, Bagehot, John Lubbock, Francis Galton, W. R. Greg, and others. The article concludes that Darwin's discussion of the moral faculty of man is a summing-up, from the point of view of the evolution of man, of the ideas presented by others during the 1860's; that Darwin contributed two important details, in addition to gathering and shaping the ideas of others into a coherent theory of the origin, nature, and development of man's moral being; that *The descent of man* (1871) inaugurated the controversial stage in the development of evolutionary ethics—the second rather than the first stage. A useful and stimulating article. —W. D. T.

Gohdes, Clarence. "A check-list of volumes by Longfellow published in the British Isles during the nineteenth century." *BBDI*, XVII, 46.

Gohdes, Clarence. "Longfellow and his authorized British publishers." *PMLA*, LV, 1165-79.

Hauser, Sylva. *Die Entwicklung der Landschaftsschau in der englischen Reise-literatur vom Anfange des 18. bis ungefähr zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts*. Zürich diss., 1937. Pp. 125.

Hawley, Joseph. "A hundred years of shorthand." *Manch*, LXIV (1939), 56-78.

Henkin, Leo J. *Darwinism in the English novel, 1860-1910. The impact of evolution on Victorian fiction*. New York: Corporate pr., 163 Front St. Pp. 303.

Hentschel, Cedric. *The Byronic Teuton: aspects of German pessimism, 1800-1933*. London: Methuen. Pp. viii+234.

Rev. in *Modern languages*, XXII, 33.

Hicks, Granville. *Figures of transition*. . . . See VB 1939, 396.

Rev. by D. Daiches in *New R*, Jan. 1, p. 29; by A. Kazin in *HTB*, Jan. 7, p. 2; in *Educational forum*, IV, 359-60.

Hooker, K. W. . . . *Victor Hugo in England*. See VB 1939, 397.

Rev. by F. C. Green in *MLR*, XXXV, 106-8.

Hübner, Walter. "Wesenszüge der politischen Rede in England." *NeuP*, XI, 41-59.

Jones, Kathleen. *La revue Britannique. Son histoire et son action littéraire (1825-1840)*. Sorbonne diss. Paris: Droz, 1939. Pp. 207.

Noted in *RLC*, XX, 119.

Knowles, Edwin B., Jr. "Don Quixote through English eyes." *Hispania*, XXIII, 103-15.

A historical account, "a rapid summary of three major changes in English literary taste as it focussed itself on this one Spanish work . . . : the jestbook *Don Quixote* of the first half of the seventeenth century; the humorous satirical classic of the first half of the eighteenth century; and the sad comment on humanity's idealism of the nineteenth century. Like every statement of majority reactions, this one recognizes that in every period there were minority views of a contrary sort. . . ." One wishes for more evidence before accepting the author's conclusion as to the majority reaction of the nineteenth century.—W. D. T.

Lowry, Howard F. "The literature of the nineteenth century and the modern scholar." In *English Institute annual, 1939*. New York: Columbia univ. pr. Pp. 90-115.

Lucas, F. L. *Ten Victorian poets*. Cambridge univ. pr.; New York: Macmillan. Pp. xx+202.

Rev. by L. Aaronson in *NC*, CXXVIII, 79-82 (severely); by G. Cookson in *English*, III, 93-94; by J. J. H. in *Studies*, XXIX, 334-35; by S. Norman in *S*, May 24, p. 726; in *N & Q*, April 27, p. 306. Treats of Arnold, Browning, Clough, Hardy, W. Morris, C. Patmore, C. Rossetti, D. G. Rossetti, Swinburne, Tennyson. Is a new edition of Lucas' *Eight Victorian poets* (1930) with two new chapters, on Coventry Patmore and Christina Rossetti.

Marriott, Sir John. *English history in English fiction*. London: Blackie. Pp. xii+308.

Matthews, W. *Cockney past and present*. . . . See VB 1938, 409.

Rev. by P. Reaney in *RES*, XVI, 491-94.

Metz, Rudolf. *A hundred years of British philosophy*. See VB 1939, 398.

Rev. by W. Long in *The personalist*, XXI, 79-82.

Muchnic, Helen. *Dostoevsky's English reputation*. . . . See VB 1939, 398.

Rev. by H. Papajewski in *Beiblatt*, LI, 42-43.

Neff, Emery. *A revolution in European poetry, 1600-1900*. New York: Columbia univ. pr. Pp. x+279.

This is an admirable, relatively brief, historical study in comparative literature, tracing the main themes of European literature—the literature of France, England, Germany, and Italy—from the culmination of mid-seventeenth-century French “classicism” through the phenomena of “romanticism” (though these Protean terms are never used) down to the last emancipations from the era of Louis XIV in the works of Jules Laforgue and Mallarmé. A surprising amount of literary history is compressed within the 279 pages of Professor Neff's volume; yet all is handled with clarity and with distinction of style. It will be of great help to students in bringing Continental movements of thought and literature into revealing relationship with those in England, in showing the underlying unity of Western culture and change during a period when a great revolution, too broad and complicated to be snared in a simple definition, shifted the intellectual center of gravity from the world of Racine, Newton, and Gottsched to that of Goethe, Wordsworth, and Hugo. In a work which attempts not only to synthesize so many great literary forces but also to deal with them in a spirit of criticism, readers will sometimes find themselves in conflict with the author's judgments, emphases, details, or principle of selection. Yet, in these days of quantitative and uncritical accumulation of fact, it is refreshing to come upon a book which has the courage to assemble and evaluate. For Victorianists, the book presents a brief and vivid background in Continental literature and a number of arresting passages on such Victorians as Tennyson, Arnold, Browning, Swinburne.—C. F. H.

Rev. by Paul Hazard in *RoR*, XXXII (1941), 93-94 (“il nous donne une étude d'un genre nouveau, il nous fait penser, il nous présente un choix heureux et nuancé de trésors admirables; son livre mérite de figurer en excellente place dans la bibliothèque de ceux qui veulent réfléchir sur l'évolution du lyrisme européen, et rêver sur de beaux vers”).

Noyes, Alfred. *Pageant of letters*. New York and London: Sheed & Ward. Pp. 356.

Rev. in *SRL*, Dec. 21, p. 22.

The Oxford book of English verse, 1250-1918. New ed. Ed. by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch. Oxford univ. pr., 1939. Pp. xxviii+1, 172.

Rev. by J. Leishman in *RES*, XVI, 360-69; by R. Marvell in *NS*, Feb. 3, p. 140; by M. Plowman in *Adelphi*, XVI, 365-67.

Oxford Movement. See IV, **Forbes, Newman**.

Perry, Ten Eyck. *Masters of dramatic comedy*. . . . See VB 1939, 398.

Rev. by A. Nicoll in *JEGP*, XXXIX, 399. Includes treatment of Wilde.

Pope, Hugh. “A brief history of the English version of the New Testament first published at Rheims in 1582, continued down to the present day.” *Library*, XX, 351-76; XXI, 44-77.

Randall, John H. *The making of the modern mind; a survey of the intellectual background of the present age*. Rev. ed. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Pp. xiii+696.

Part IV, dealing with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has been revised.

Reid, Margaret J. C. *The Arthurian legend*. . . . See VB 1939, 399.

Rev. as "a beginner's thesis" by E. V. in *RES*, XVI, 331-32.

Reynolds, Paul E. "The English sonnet sequence, 1783-1845." *Harvard univ. summaries of theses* (1938). Cambridge: Harvard univ. pr. Pp. 328-30.

Robinson, Lennox (ed.). *The Irish theatre*. . . . London: Macmillan. Pp. xiv+230.

Rose, Felix (comp. and trans.). *Les grands lyriques anglais*. Paris: H. Didier. Pp. 441. See also VB 1939, 399.

Rev. with praise in *Modern languages*, XXI, 185-86; in *NS*, June 15, p. 756.

Rudman, Harry W. *Italian nationalism and English letters. Figures of the Risorgimento and Victorian men of letters*. ("Columbia univ. studies in English and comp. lit.," No. 146.) New York: Columbia univ. pr.; London: Allen & Unwin. Pp. 444.

Rev. by W. Gibson in *English*, III, 142 (a hundred pages of the book are devoted to Notes, Bibliography, and Index; its main purpose, to study "the political influence exerted by the exiles of the Risorgimento on the work of Victorian men of letters"; the fruits of this influence were "meagre" and "slight"); in *S*, July 12, pp. 39-40; in *TLS*, June 29, p. 316.

Part II is valuable, dealing, from the point of view of literature, with such figures as Ugo Foscolo, Gabriele Rossetti, Panizzi, Orsini, Cavour, Garibaldi. Half the book is devoted to Mazzini; involves such Victorians as Gladstone and Carlyle. Excellent contribution to background materials in comparative literature. —C. F. H.

Russell, Leonard (ed.). *English wits*. London: Hutchinson. Pp. 363.

Rev. by C. Connolly in *NS*, Nov. 16, p. 496. The wits include Theodore Hook, Miss Mitford, Sydney Smith, Oscar Wilde.

Sandoe, James. "'Private theatricals' and 'private theatres.'" *Colorado-Wyoming jour. of letters* (1939), pp. 77-88.

Treats of Jane Austen, Dickens, Meredith, etc.

Schaepdryver, K. de. *Hippolyte Taine: essai sur sa pensée*. Paris: Droz, 1938. Pp. 187.

Rev. by Horatio Smith in *RoR*, XXXI, 301-3.

Schlösser, A. *Die englische Literatur in Deutschland von 1895 bis 1934*. . . . See VB 1937, 433.

Rev. by Ernst Seht in *LgrP*, LXI, 31-32.

Schultz, F. *Der Deutsche in der englischen Literatur*. . . . See VB 1939, 399.

Rev. by L. Forster in *MLR*, XXXV, 249-50; by H. Marcus in *Archiv*, CLXXVII, 56; in *ZNU*, XXXIX, 88-89.

Schulz, F. D. H. "Von Byron bis Shaw: über das Moralische, das sich im Puritanismus nicht immer von selbst versteht." *Die Literatur*, XLII, 194-96.

Simmons, Ernest J. *Dostoevski; the making of a novelist*. Oxford univ. pr. Pp. x+416.

Speirs, J. *The Scots literary tradition*. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. 200.

Stewart, W. McC. "Racine vu par les anglais de 1800 à nos jours." *RLC*, XIX (1939), 563-80.

Stoll, Elmer E. *Shakespeare and other masters*. Cambridge: Harvard univ. pr. Pp. xv+430.

Storr, Vernon F. *Freedom and tradition. A study of liberal evangelicalism*. London: Nisbet. Pp. 193.

Rev. in *TLS*, March 16, p. 132.

An admirable brief account; first three chapters cover the origins of the Evangelical movement, and its development in nineteenth-century liberalism in the Oxford Noetics, in Coleridge, in Arnold, in *Essays and reviews*; the second half of the book is less historical than analytical and hortatory, dealing with the religious problems of the recent past and of the present. A thoughtful and useful little book by the author of one of the standard Evangelical histories of nineteenth-century English religious thought, *The development of English theology. . . 1800-1860* (1913).—C. F. H.

Summers, M., *The Gothic quest: a history of the Gothic novel*. London: Fortune pr. 1938. Pp. 443.

Gothic romances of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Temple, William. *The genius of English poetry*. (Presidential address, English Assoc.) Oxford univ. pr., 1939. Pp. 16.

Considers Browning the most distinctively English of poets.

Tolles, Winton. *Tom Taylor and the Victorian drama*. ("Columbia univ. studies in English and comp. lit.," No. 148.) New York: Columbia univ. pr. Pp. ix+299.

Toynbee, Arnold, *A study of history*. Vols. IV, V, and VI. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Oxford univ. pr., 1939. Pp. xvi+656; vi+712; vi+633.

Rev. by P. Sorokin in *JMH*, XII, 374-87.

Trilling, Lionel. "The Victorians and democracy." *Southern rev.*, V, 642-47.

Tronchon, Henri. *Le jeune Edgar Quinet*. See VB 1938, 411.

Rev. by F. Baldensperger in *RLC*, XIX (1939), 195-97.

- Walpole, Sir Hugh. "English domestic fiction: its influence abroad." *TLS*, Sept. 7, p. 445.
- Wells, Henry W. *New poets from old. A study in literary genetics*. New York: Columbia univ. pr. Pp. x+356.
- Worcester, David. *The art of satire*. Harvard univ. pr.; London: Milford. Pp. vii+184.

IV. INDIVIDUAL AUTHORS

Arnold (see also III, Lucas). *Matthew Arnold: poetry and prose; with Sir William Watson's poem and essays by Lionel Johnson and H. W. Garrod*. Introd. and notes by Sir E. K. Chambers. ("Clarendon series of English lit.") Oxford: Clarendon pr. Pp. 222.

Rev. by E. A. Baker in *RES*, XVI, 357-58 (with praise for the introductory material and the poetry); by R. Mortimer in *NS*, March 16, p. 368; in *N & Q*, Feb. 3, p. 90.

Brown, E. K. "Matthew Arnold and the eighteenth century." *TQ*, IX, 202-13.

Hippocrides. "The Church of Brou: monuments." *N & Q*, June 15, p. 423.

Knickerbocker, W. S. "Arnold, Shelley, and Joubert." *MLN*, LV, 201.

On Arnold's phrase: "beautiful and ineffectual angel."

Morrison, Theodore. "Dover Beach revisited: a new fable for critics." *Harper's*, CLXXX, 235-44.

Five hypothetical English professors are asked to explain and evaluate "Dover Beach." Their replies present amusing and instructive variations.

Muller, Herbert J. "Matthew Arnold: a parable for partisans." *Southern rev.*, V, 551-58.

Inspired by Trilling's *Matthew Arnold* (see VB 1939, 401).

Page, Frederick, and others. "A line in 'The scholar-gypsy.'" *N & Q*, Jan. 20, p. 51; Jan. 27, p. 68. See VB 1939, 401; Gill, W. W.

Tinker, C. B., and Lowry, H. F. *The poetry of Matthew Arnold: a commentary*. New York: Oxford univ. pr. Pp. xv+404.

Rev. by Douglas Bush in *YR*, XXX, 195-97; by Samuel C. Chew in *HTB*, July 31, p. 12; by D. Fitts in *SRL*, Sept. 14, p. 7; by P. Hutchison in *NYTBR*, July 28, p. 2.

This commentary treats every poem in respect to sources, influences, dates, and significance in Arnold's development, in so far as all known materials are available; it levies upon the "Yale Manuscript," a volume of some seventy pages of notes and rough drafts of poems, and upon Arnold's letters, journals, and other sources, in an attempt to solve the problems arising from Arnold's habit of "incessantly classifying and rearranging his verses, cancelling and restoring poems, excerpting passages that might stand alone, revising the diction, and altering the

punctuation." Much valuable light is thrown on the meaning of a number of poems and passages, though the editors admit that "disappointingly little has been discovered as to the exact date of composition" of many of them. Much is revealed as to Arnold's methods of writing, his debt to rather unlikely sources, such as periodical reviews and other journalistic and "literary" sources, and the causes of his occasional blunders and inconsistencies. Many of the major poems—"Dover Beach," "Obermann once more," and "Tristram and Iseult"—are thus given a new and illuminating approach, though many readers will feel that, in view of the new materials drawn upon, more interpretation might have been expected. Many will regret, too, that the editors denied themselves the opportunity to present a cogent discussion of Arnold's poetry and poetic development in the Introduction. They will, however, appreciate Sir Francis Wylie's appendix-chapter on "The scholar-gipsy country." A companion volume, containing the poems themselves, has been planned for publication in 1941, the two volumes to constitute a new edition of the complete *Poetical works*. No thoughtful reader of Arnold can afford to neglect the thorough, accurate, and well-organized product of Professors Tinker and Lowry.—C. F. H.

Bagehot. Irvine, William. *Walter Bagehot*. See VB 1939, 402.

Rev. by E. A. Baker in *RES*, XVI, 359-60; by E. Burgum in *MLN*, LV, 636-37; by F. Herrick in *AHR*, XLVI, 137-38; by R. Hunt in *NC*, CXXVII, 110-12.

Beddoes. Meyerstein, E. H. W. "Thomas Lovell Beddoes." *English*, III, 8-15.

Beerbohm (see II, Rothenstein).

Braddon. Sadleir, Michael. "Notes on *Lady Audley's secret*." *TLS*, May 11, p. 236. See also *TLS*, June 1, p. 272.

Bradley. *Correspondence of Robert Bridges and Henry Bradley, 1900-1923*. Oxford: Clarendon pr. Pp. vi+191.

Rev. by Nowell Smith in *English*, III, 138.

Bridges (see also **Bradley**). Eaker, J. Gordon. "Robert Bridges' concept of nature." *PMLA*, LIV (1939), 1181-97.

Guérard, Albert, Jr. "The dates of some of Robert Bridges' lyrics." *MLN*, LV, 199-200.

Brimley. Phelan, Lewis J. "The life and letters of George Brimley." *Harvard univ. summaries of theses* (1938). Cambridge: Harvard univ. pr. Pp. 317-19.

Brontës. Cook, Davidson. "Charlotte Brontë and 'Mary Stuart.'" *TLS*, April 20, p. 200.

Cornish, Dorothy Helen. *These were the Brontës*. New York: Macmillan. Pp. 491.

Brief rev. in *CE*, I, 559. This is fictional biography.

Eve. " 'Villette' and a French critic." *N & Q*, July 13, pp. 21-23.

Comments on Ernest Dimnet's *Les sœurs Brontë* (1910).

Moore, Virginia. *Emily Brontë*. See VB 1939, 403.

Rev. by L. Villard in *EtA*, III (1939), 384-85.

Romieu, Emilie and Georges. *Les sœurs Brontës*. Paris, 1929; 2nd ed., 1931.

A German translation (*Die Schwestern Brontë*) by R. Stransky appeared in Zürich and Leipzig, published by Rascher, 1939. Pp. iv+310.

Wells, Augustin. *Les sœurs Brontë et l'étranger*. See VB 1938, 413.

Rev. by L. Villard in *EtA*, III (1939), 385-86.

Broughton. "Rhoda Broughton's secret: melodrama of the breaking heart: a girlhood of bitter disillusion." *TLS*, Nov. 30, p. 604.

Brown, T. E. (see I, Cubbon).

Brownings (see also III, Davis, Lucas, Temple). *The ring and the book*. Introd. by E. Dowden. Notes by A. K. Cook. New impression, with notes. Oxford univ. pr. Pp. 556.

Rev. and re-evaluated by V. Pritchett in *NS*, July 20, p. 66. This new ed. includes an appendix of notes taken from A. K. Cook's *Commentary* on the poem.

Ariail, J. M. "Is 'Pippa passes' a dramatic failure?" *SP*, XXXVII, 120-29.

Armstrong, A. J. "Browning's 'The ring and the book.'" *N & Q*, Feb. 10, p. 100, March 30, p. 232.

Cramer, Maurice Browning. "Browning's friendships and fame before marriage (1833-1846)." *PMLA*, LV, 207-30.

Davidson, Gustav. "The first edition of the 'Sonnets from the Portuguese.'" *Publishers' weekly*, CXXXVI (1939), 1976-77.

Forster, M., and Zappe, W. *Robert Browning Bibliographie*. See VB 1939, 403.

Rev. by W. Templeman in *JEGP*, XXXIX, 436.

Fox, Berenice. "Revision in Browning's *Paracelsus*." *MLN*, LV, 195-97.

McCormick, James P. *As a flame springs: the romance of Robert and Elizabeth Barrett Browning*. New York: Scribner's. Pp. 356.

Rev. by M. Lehman in *HTB*, Sept. 22, p. 16.

Page, Frederick. "Browning vindicated." *TLS*, May 25, p. 255.

Raymond, William O. "Browning's casuists." *SP*, XXXVII, 641-66.

Raymond, William O. "Browning's letters to Isabella Blagden: an addendum." *PMLA*, LV, 614-15.

Raymond, William O. "Browning's poetry: fifty years after." *TQ*, IX, 138-51.

Rebora, P. "Robert Browning nel cinquantenario della morte." *Studi inglesi: bollettino dell'Istituto britannico di Firenze*, Oct., 1939, pp. 85-100.

Noted in *RLC*, XX, 119, and in *EtA*, III (1939), 423. Treats especially of Browning's connection with Italy.

Senex, Humphreys, F., and others. "Browning queries." *N & Q*, July 27, pp. 64-65; Aug. 24, pp. 140-41; Aug. 31, pp. 151-53; Sept. 21, p. 214.

Difficult passages in Browning explained.

Smalley, Donald. "A parleying with Aristophanes." *PMLA*, LV, 823-38.

Smiles, Sam, and others. "The dictator orders his tomb." *NS*, March 16, p. 380.

A page of parodies, in a certain competition.

Titman, Lily. "Thomas Hardy and Robert Browning and music.^{6b}" *The choir* (London), XXX (Dec., 1939), 263-64.

Tracy, C. R. "The source and meaning of Browning's *Tray*." *PMLA*, LV, 615-17.

Yarrill, E. H. (trans.). *Browning's "Roman murder story" as recorded in a hitherto unknown Italian contemporary manuscript*. Introd. by William O. Raymond. ("Baylor University's Browning interests," Ser. XI.) *Baylor bulletin*, Vol. XLII, No. 4. Waco, Tex.: Baylor univ., 1939. Pp. 47.

Rev. by H. Minchin in *FR*, CXLVIII, 336-37.

Zappe, W. M. *Robert Brownings Verhältnis zur bildenden Kunst*. Berlin diss. Pp. 91.

Butler (see also III, Davis). *Così muore la carne*. Trans. into Italian by Enzo Giachino. Torino: G. Einaudi, 1939.

Rev. by B. Dal Fabbro in *Letteratura*, IV, 155-56.

Eyriagnoux, Louis. "La dette de Shaw envers Samuel Butler: deux documents." *EtA*, III (1939), 361-64.

Caine (see I, Cubbon).

Carlyle (see also III, Davis, Fischer, Rudman). *Thomas Carlyle: journey to Germany, autumn 1858*. Ed., with introd., notes, and commentaries by Richard A. E. Brooks. New Haven: Yale univ. pr. Pp. xxxviii+222.

Rev. by T. Scudder in *JMH*, XII, 569-70; by H. Shine in *MLN*, LV, 638; by S. Southern in *NYTBR*, Dec. 29, p. 5; in *HTB*, Sept. 15, p. 18.

A very careful edition of the MS acquired by the Yale University Library in 1932; fully documented; and containing an illuminating appendix that discusses twelve of Frederick's battles in the light of Carlyle's sources, methods, and degree of fidelity to the original materials.—C. F. H.

Davis, Harold (ed.). "Dickens, Carlyle, and Tennyson, by James S. Pike." *Atlantic monthly*, CLXIV (1939), 810-19.

Visits to these authors in 1863.

Fervacque, P. "L'actualité de Carlyle." *Le Temps*, July 7, 1939. Noted in *RLC*, XX, 119.

Grierson, Sir Herbert. *Essays and addresses*. London: Chatto & Windus. Pp. 285.

Rev. by E. Meyerstein in *English*, III, 140-41; by G. M. Young in *S*, Aug. 9, pp. 148, 150; in *TLS*, July 6, p. 323. Includes treatment of Froude and J. S. Mill.

Reprints a number of short pieces already published, including "Carlyle and Hitler" (1931). Charming and delightful, but very uneven in merit; suffers to some extent from "dating," as many of the author's pronouncements, on Scott, Byron, and Carlyle, especially, were made while he was still in the process of determining his conclusions.—C. F. H.

Griggs, Edward H. *Moral leaders*. New York: Abingdon pr. Pp. 240.

Popular essays, including one on Carlyle.

Hartwig, George H. "An immortal friendship (Carlyle and Emerson)." *Hibbert jour.*, XXXVIII, 102-14.

Scudder, Townsend. *Jane Welsh Carlyle*. See VB 1939, 405.

Rev. in *TLS*, April 6, p. 167.

Sellière, Ernest. *L'actualité de Carlyle: un précurseur du national-socialisme*. Paris: Nouvelle revue critique, 1939. Pp. 254.

Rev. by R. Hunt in *NC*, CXXVI, 474-75; by G. Kitchen in *MLR*, XXXV, 246-47; by F. Piquet in *RG*, XXX (1939), 287-88.

Smith, Fred Manning. "Whitman's poet-prophet and Carlyle's hero." *PMLA*, LV, 1146-64.

Wagner, Albert. "Goethe, Carlyle, Nietzsche and the German middle class." *Monatshefte für deutschen Unterricht*, XXXI (1939), 161-74, 235-42.

Young, Louise. *Thomas Carlyle and the art of history*. See VB 1939, 406.

Rev. by W. Abbott in *MLN*, LV, 550-51; by L. Davidson in *MP*, XXXVII, 332-34; by H. Grierson in *EHR*, LV, 318-21; by C. Harrold in *JEGP*, XXXIX, 428-31; by S. P. L. in *JP*, XXXVII, 80-81; by T. Scudder in *JMH*, XII, 271-72.

Carroll (see also III, Ehrentreich). "Les merveilles de la photographie." Tr. from English by H. Fontenoy. *Nrf*, XXVIII, 238-42.

Archibald, R. C. "Bibliography of Lewis Carroll: additions." *N & Q*, Aug. 24, pp. 134-35.

McPike, E. F., and others. "Dobson, Dodson or Dodgson family." *N & Q*, June 22, p. 442; July 27, p. 69.

Clough (see III, Lucas).

Coleridge. Griggs, Earl Leslie. *Coleridge fille: a biography of Sara Coleridge*. Oxford univ. pr. Pp. 280.

Rev. by V. Woolf in *NS*, Oct. 26, pp. 418-20.

Collins. Parrish, M. C. *Wilkie Collins and Charles Reade. First editions (with a few exceptions) in the library at Dormy House, Pine Valley, New Jersey, described with notes by M. L. Parrish, with the assistance of Elizabeth V. Miller.* London: Constable. Pp. x+356. 150 copies only.

Rev. in *TLS*, June 1, p. 272.

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The southern review: Thomas Hardy centennial issue (Vol. VI, No. 1).

Its articles are listed in the present Hardy bibliog. according to authors' names; this issue of the *Southern review* is a good-sized book.

In this brilliant and provocative volume Hardy faces a barrage of critical artillery, and he emerges from the ordeal rather well. Many of his poems, it is true, are summarily discarded; he is repeatedly belabored for his "ill-digested philosophy" (Tate); and his novels undergo searching analysis which is not always favorable. But though much is taken, much abides. Although he is not a major poet, he wrote "major poems" (Leavis), is "a great minor poet" (Ransom), and his works are distinguished by "the best sort of humanity" (Baker), and by a fine "sense of the dignity of man" (Dobrée). These essays go beyond their assignment. They contain also much illuminating comment on nineteenth-century thought and on Victorian and modern poets and poetry.—S. P. C.

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This biography is primarily and avowedly written to show Hardy as a man of

letters—"to tell why Thomas Hardy wrote, why he wrote on the subjects he chose, and how his books grew from ideas and emotions and experiences to printed volumes." Mr. Weber has succeeded remarkably well, as was expected of him. He has for years made himself internationally acknowledged, because of his numerous articles and monographs, as a vigorous, intelligent, meticulous, and appreciative Hardy scholar. His book is a centennial tribute to Hardy and is such a work as we think Hardy himself would approve of. He has achieved a mastery of an immense amount of fact, including much drawn from hundreds of unpublished letters; and he has made fact interesting, as he uses it shrewdly, straightforwardly, and economically to show us Hardy the writer and to give us a new and better understanding and, consequently, a more appreciative enjoyment of Hardy's prose and poetry. Inevitably there must emerge (and does emerge) from such a presentation a better understanding of and a new admiration for Hardy the man.

Because of the interest that wartime England and America today are showing in *The dynasts*, many people would welcome from Mr. Weber a larger treatment of that poem than he has seen fit to give of it in a brief chapter of this book. He has, however, intentionally restricted himself in this book and has striven toward objectivity of treatment. Those who wish that he had included more interpretation should not criticize this book adversely for lacking it.

The style of the book is simple, clear, unaffected, meaty, and sympathetic. Mr. Weber writes as only one can write who has written much and who has gained control of a vastly greater amount of detail about his subject than he sees fit to use for his set purpose. Previous reviewers have properly praised him especially for his tactful yet effective dealing with all that pertains to the first Mrs. Hardy. Chapter iv ("The poor man and the critic") is also particularly well done. The literary biography of Hardy covers pp. 3-231. Appendixes cover pp. 235-78 and present much helpful and much new information, including, with others, sections on Hardy's quotations from English literature, his debt to Shakespeare, notes on the Wessex novels, Hardy's short stories, his debt to Browning, his Napoleonic library, the Hardy plays, and Hardy's manuscripts. The fact that the index covers twenty-two pages of double-columned small type indicates that Mr. Weber has skilfully compressed a very large amount of objective detail into a smoothly coherent and richly rewarding book.—W. D. T.

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Hughes, Randolph. "A Swinburne MS." *TLS*, Feb. 24, p. 99.

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servative, others will not; and the characterization of the man and of his work is refreshing and appealing as it portrays the contradictions in his nature, his ambitions, and his poetry. In spite of small type the book is easy to read and is well made.—W. D. T.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A bibliography of American studies in the French Renaissance (1500-1600). By SAMUEL F. WILL. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1940. Pp. 151.

This volume lists books and articles produced by Americans and Canadians or by foreigners employed in American universities between 1886, when *PMLA* came into being, and 1937, the year before *Studies in philology* initiated its annual French Renaissance bibliography. The compiler has wisely and helpfully included material drawn not merely from literature but from theology (Calvinism offers an impressive list of titles), navigations, explorations in the New World (here Canada bulks large), history, political science, and medical lore. The total of 1,895 items is divided by subject into twelve groups, and there is an index of proper names.

The work, a useful tool in itself, affords a ready proof of the interest shown by American scholarship in the French Renaissance and may serve as a *pièce justificative* against unconsidered depreciation of activity in the field. It is not insignificant that the year which saw publication of the volume saw the first meeting of a group in the Modern Language Association devoted exclusively to study of the French literature of the sixteenth century.

Printing and paper are excellent; I hope that the ten or twelve misprints in words are not equaled in number by slips involving volume or page references.

ROBERT VALENTINE MERRILL

University of Chicago

El Criticón. By BALTASAR GRACIÁN. Edited by M. ROMERA-NAVARRO. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. Vol. I: 1938. Pp. vi+404. Vol. II: 1939. Pp. viii+383.

These are the first two of three volumes devoted to Gracián's great philosophical novel. As the editor points out, it is amazing that a work so difficult and so in need of commentary has lacked a satisfactory edition up to the present time. With Mr. Romera-Navarro, it has been a labor of love to supply this need. He has given us a satisfactory text and explained most of the difficult passages. One feels there are very few of these which he has not fully understood. The aid supplied him by the Modern Language Association and the American Council of Learned Societies has been money well expended, and one looks forward to the next volume with pleasurable anticipation.

The life of Gracián here given offers little new but presents briefly all that is known. The discussion of Gracián's philosophy is, of course, inadequate, but such a subject would require a book in itself. Mr. Romera-Navarro is perhaps a little too severe on previous critics of Gracián's style. Granted that a good style is characterized by clarity, precision, simplicity, and lack of affectation, these critics were justified in their strictures, though we may all admire Gracián's concision and vigor. He was perhaps the greatest forger of epigrams who ever existed, and, writing in the most diffuse of idioms, his lapidarian art equaled the terseness of the Latin.

As a commentator, Mr. Romera-Navarro has not been able to decide to what public he should address his footnotes. While most of these are erudite, he mingles with them others of value only to the beginner. Gracián himself says, "Para la necesidad nunca sobran avisos"; but scholars do not find it flattering to be included among the "necios." For example, whenever "basta" is used, we are told that the verb "decir" is implied. Whenever "espanto" occurs, we are told that it means "asombro," that "lograr" equals "disfrutar," etc. And these notes occur not once but scores of times. The reader requiring such elementary information will not progress far in a book of such difficulty. One hopes that in the ensuing volume Mr. Romera-Navarro will not mix such trivial material with his many learned and helpful comments.

The notes on historical grammar are often erroneous. For example, on page 298, it is incorrect to say that the form "vais" is an indicative used as a subjunctive. "Vais" is a true subjunctive (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Manual de gramática*, par. 116, sec. 5, and Hanssen, *Spanische Grammatik*, par. 27, sec. 25). To condemn a seventeenth-century writer for using a solecism, when he employs an imperfect indicative for a conditional ("era" for "sería," p. 369) is suggestive of the type of criticism made famous by Diego Clemencín.

The question of Gracián's sources is one of extreme difficulty. It is not only a matter of indicating sources of episodes but of each distinct aphorism. Many of Gracián's epigrams are original, but many stem from the classics and modern authors. Mr. Romera-Navarro's most valuable contribution is his careful indication of many of these. He claims over seven hundred source indications, ranging from certainty to a high probability. Naturally a few things escape him, as they would any investigator. In discussing the "women as devils" motif, it is surprising to find no mention of the *Barlaam and Josaphat*. One would welcome a fuller treatment of Gracián's remark (p. 400) that wrath is the only one of the seven deadly sins that brings no delight to the sinner. In this connection one might mention that Cervantes says the same of jealousy, and Alarcón, less happily, of lying. But what is the common source back of these three writers?

GEORGE T. NORTHUP

University of Chicago

Studies in Beaumont, Fletcher, and Massinger. By BALDWIN MAXWELL. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Pp. vii+238.

Of the seventeen essays comprising this volume, eight are new, and nine are former publications revised or re-written. They constitute a valuable and interesting study of a wide range of topics: sources of plays, chronology, revision, authorship, collaboration, parallels with contemporary drama, allusions to literature and events of the day, and various points of dramatic technique, as well as a consideration of the significance of certain features of the second folio of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, such as alternate titles, *dramatis personae*, lists of actors, prologues, and epilogues. In evaluating theories and interpretations by previous writers, Mr. Maxwell is a reasonable and temperate critic, and he presents his own views with caution, lucidity, and conciseness.

The first essay, on alternate titles, *dramatis personae*, and lists of actors in *F₂* of Beaumont and Fletcher, shows that contemporary practice in the use of alternate titles discredits previous conclusions that the nine plays known at times under more than one title were necessarily revised, re-written, or later passed off spuriously as new plays. Mr. Maxwell considers it unlikely that the publishers possessed, as they asserted, "The Author's Original Copies," or even "plots," since the plays there added to those in *F₁* were printed from quartos, and the corrections in the other plays, as well as the added prologues, epilogues, and songs (cf. Essay XVII), were derived from a corrected copy owned by an intimate friend of Fletcher. The forty-six lists of *dramatis personae* provided in *F₂*, uniform in plan and by no means accurate or complete, show no evidence of derivation from the theater, but appear to have been prepared at the instance of the publisher for "ease to the Reader" and are therefore valueless for precise dating of composition or revision. On the other hand, the lists of actors prefixed to twenty-five of the *F₂* plays (reprinted from the texts of *F₁* and the 1652 quarto of the *Wild-geese chase*, which has its list), though their origin is in twenty-four cases unknown, have some value, not for conclusions as to the original casts, but for dating performances as necessarily within the period when the listed actors were members of the company. Because of the known attitudes of Beaumont and Fletcher toward prologues and epilogues (see Essay XVII) and because of internal evidence, these "by-ornaments" provided for twenty-five of the plays of *F₂* are shown to be hazardous as a basis for conclusions as to their authorship and as to the dating of performances without subsidiary evidence.

In several essays Mr. Maxwell discusses the feasibility of dating the composition of plays or parts of plays by the presence of topical allusions to real events and persons and by parallels with or allusions to plays and other literary works, making particularly good use of many points of contact with the plays of Jonson. He keeps in mind, as a rule, the possibility of the re-writing of scenes and the insertion of single allusions for freshening a play, and makes

his decisions on the basis of dates pointed to by a preponderating number of such allusions. For example, he sums up (p. 27) the evidence from such references in *The scornful lady*, in which five allusions suggest a date of 1610, as against one possible allusion pointing to a date as late as May, 1613, at least for that particular passage. He also reminds the reader (Essay IV), in considering dates proposed for *The woman's prize* all the way from 1603 to "after 1617," that memorable incidents and literary treatments of them are not immediately staled or forgotten and that we must therefore not be misled into selecting too early a date merely because of this principle of timeliness of allusion. In dating *The woman's prize* early in 1611, the presence of similar topical allusions in two of Jonson's plays strengthens the argument from other historical allusions in this play. Mr. Maxwell rightly challenges the usual assumption that Fletcher meant the play for a mere sequel to Shakespeare's *The taming of the shrew*—though it is not clear why he should add that Fletcher "was content to rely upon either report or his own recollection, a recollection neither complete nor accurate," since he is arguing for complete independence of treatment, and it would seem to most readers obvious that Fletcher used Shakespeare's play even though he deliberately departs from it.

By historical and literary allusions and by its relation to *The woman's prize*, Mr. Maxwell dates *The nightwalker* conjecturally as early in 1611 but admits later revision by another author, in certain references to books and ballads hawked by a peddler in Act IV, scene iii. As this scene has no structural value, it may well be regarded as a later extension of the similar list in Act III, scene iv, by way of freshening for some revival, emphasizing, as it does, later works, such as John Taylor's ("the book of the great navy" being perhaps his "An armado, or great navy," S.R., January 25, 1627). Further study of books and ballads listed in these two scenes may throw more light on probable dates of original composition and revision of this part of the play.

For his dating of *Love's pilgrimage* in the autumn of 1616, Mr. Maxwell employs, in addition to historical allusions, the probable use as a source of Rosset and D'Audigier's *Les Nouvelles de Miguel de Cervantes* (1615) rather than the Spanish original, the *Novelas ejemplares* (allowed for publication in August, 1613), though he reserves judgment as to the extent of Fletcher's knowledge of Spanish—a question which certainly merits further study on other counts. The exact relation of this play to Jonson's *The new inn* remains an unsolved problem.

Mr. Maxwell proposes as one important basis for dating at least three plays what he considers a significant change in Fletcher's attitude toward the practice (not merely absurdities of the code) of the duello for avenging honor. This change he dates ca. 1616, showing that there was a concurrent strengthening opposition to the use of the duel, on the part of King James, Francis Bacon, and even the courts. The increasingly condemnatory attitude of Fletcher (as inferred from the dialogue), whether due to mere subservience to

the attitude in the court of James or due to a real change of opinion of the dramatist, is made to serve as a means of dating the original form of *Nice valour* and Fletcher's share in *The elder brother* as composed before 1616 and *Wit without money* as composed or revised after 1616. As usual, Mr. Maxwell supports this means of dating by all possible auxiliary evidence. But in spite of this precaution, some readers may hesitate to attach quite so much significance to the changed attitude toward the duello as affording a means of precise dating of composition or revision because (1) exigencies of the story or the characterization may have influenced the dialogue so that it may not definitely voice the dramatist's own views at a particular time, and (2) Fletcher in his earlier years and Massinger throughout his career seem not to have been especially subservient to the sovereign's views and practices but rather to have preserved an independent, critical attitude on public affairs. This does not, of course, bar out a real change of position on the part of Fletcher; but the question is, simply, whether after a certain fixed date he would regularly and consistently, through whatever character and in whatever situation, voice his own revised views.

In the case of *Nice valour*, conjecturally dated on this basis as at the close of 1615 or the opening of 1616, the evidence is a bit doubtful, as a few lines condemn the duel, but the whole attitude is not strongly opposed to it. Mr. Maxwell offers auxiliary evidence, however: (1) a reinterpretation of a reference to the high cost of "Fisher's Folly" as connected with the sale (1615-16) of an extravagant house of Jasper Fisher, then known as "Fisher's Folly," rather than, as Dyce guessed, with a pamphlet of 1624; and (2) the relating of a reference to the pecuniary value to the Stationers' Company of the copyright in *The seven wise masters* and *A C. Merry tales* with a transfer of the copies on the Registers, October 29 and November 6, 1615. It would be interesting to ascertain more definitely the time of occurrence of an incident (which would seem to have occurred by 1615) which Mr. Maxwell hesitates, perhaps too cautiously, to suggest as the real source of inspiration for two items in this play: (1) Lapet's title for his forthcoming book, "The uprising of the kick; and the downfall of the *Duello*" (Act IV, scene i), proving a kick no infringement of one's honor, together with his meekly submitting to be kicked; and (2) the tame acceptance by Shamont, a Gentleman of the Chamber, of an insulting flick from the Duke's riding whip. Taken together, these are strongly suggestive of an incident narrated by Mr. Maxwell from contemporary records concerning a kick bestowed by King James on the kneeling Gib, Gentleman of the Chamber, when in a fit of choler, which he quickly repented, begging pardon on his knees. The mangled state of the text of *Nice valour* invites further attention to the dating of its composition (if more evidence should be available) and to the problem of revision, whether voluntary or obligatory.

In his essay on *Henry VIII*, Mr. Maxwell, revising two earlier articles in the light of Peter Alexander's "Conjectural history of Shakespeare's *Henry*

VIII" (1931), arrives by his own methods at the same conclusion—a rejection of a theory generally held since Spedding advanced it in 1850, that Fletcher collaborated with Shakespeare in this play. His conclusions are based on metrical, grammatical, and stylistic tests of the supposed Fletcherian scenes and on Fletcher's known habits in the use of historical sources. The essay closes with a valuable consideration of methods and challenges Sykes's employment of parallels to prove Massinger's participation.

The particular essays here mentioned, while not indicative of the whole scope of the book, serve to illustrate the characteristic methods of approach to the various problems. Mr. Maxwell handles his evidence with care, and his conjectures are reasonable and free from overstatement. With its careful and methodical retesting of old theories and its presentation of fresh facts and points of view, the book is a valuable contribution by a scholar who has devoted many years to the study of these dramatists. Mr. Maxwell's forthcoming bibliography of Beaumont and Fletcher will be awaited with interest by students of the drama.

EVELYN MAY ALBRIGHT

University of Chicago

George Keate, Esq., eighteenth century English gentleman. By KATHRYN GILBERT DAPP. University of Pennsylvania dissertation. Philadelphia, 1939. Pp. [iv] + 184.

The descriptive and epistolary verses of George Keate are forgotten today, and even his celebrated *Account of the Pelew Islands* is scarcely remembered except by the student of travel literature. On the other hand, Keate seems to have known almost everyone worth knowing in mid-eighteenth-century London, and he even achieved a Continental reputation as the "English friend of M. de Voltaire." Miss Dapp has brought together in her dissertation all the known biographical facts concerning this interesting personage.

On the grand tour in 1756 Keate became acquainted with Voltaire, and a friendship arose which continued until the French writer's death in 1778. Of the correspondence between the two, Voltaire's letters alone are preserved, and Miss Dapp reproduces the texts of twenty-two, from the originals in the British Museum. She exaggerates their novelty, however. "Except for four letters," she writes, "which were printed in *The Illustrated London News* in 1860, and later reprinted in Moland's edition of Voltaire's works, the correspondence of Voltaire with Keate seems never to have been printed, or even known of" (p. 93). As a matter of fact, these have long been known and in print: Georges Bengesco published them in 1887¹ and two years later reproduced the texts of five of them (Nos. 6, 9, 17, 20, and 24) in his well-known

¹ Voltaire: lettres et billets inédits publiés d'après les originaux du British Museum avec une introduction et des notes (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1887).

bibliography of Voltaire.² Ballantyne, moreover, made considerable use of them in his monograph on Voltaire's English visit.³ Bengesco's collection was issued, however, in a limited edition, and Ballantyne translates rather freely, so that it is well to have the texts reproduced here from the originals. It is regrettable that Miss Dapp fails to give also the original texts of the four letters previously printed in Moland's edition of Voltaire's *Œuvres*, in view of Moland's unscientific ways with texts.⁴

Among other activities, Keate was an amateur artist, and Miss Dapp reproduces two interesting sketches which he made on the grand tour, as well as the only two water colors which are known. Her dissertation is, on the whole, an agreeable and satisfactory account of a "gentleman 'of cultivated taste and amiable disposition' who attained 'a respectable rank in the republic of letters'" (p. 159). A bibliography of Keate's writings is given on pages 169-75, including a list of foreign translations of the *Account of the Pelew Islands*.⁵

DONALD F. BOND

University of Chicago

The first American novelist? By GUSTAVUS HOWARD MAYNADIER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. 79.

Mr. Maynadier's title for this book and his major concern in writing are based on a debatable problem in classification. He assumes that a novelist who was born in America, who used American material in some of her stories, and who had no predecessors may or should be considered a "first American novelist." Everyone else who has ever dealt with Charlotte Ramsay Lennox has assumed that the author of the *Female Quixote* (on which her reputation rests) should be considered an English novelist because she lived in England for at least the last sixty-five of her eighty years, married an English husband,

² *Voltaire: bibliographie de ses œuvres*, III (Paris, 1889), 335-40.

³ Archibald Ballantyne, *Voltaire's visit to England, 1726-1729* (London, 1919), pp. 274-86 (first published in 1893).

⁴ Cf. the comments by L. Foulet in the Introduction to his *Correspondance de Voltaire, 1726-29* (Paris, 1914), pp. lxiii-lxv.

⁵ On p. 14 the astonishing statement is made that, according to Nichols, Keate read portions of *Ancient and modern Rome* aloud when he was in Rome. (Nichols gives the date as 1735, at which time Keate would be just five years of age.) Actually Nichols' statement refers to the *De solis ac lunae defectibus* of Father Boscovich (*Literary anecdotes*, II, 333). P. 36: The statement that the *Monthly review* "did not even mention" Keate's *Epistle from Lady Jane Gray* is not accurate. It received a four-page review (XXVI [March, 1762], 224-27) from no less a personage than John Langhorne (Nangle, p. 96), who names "Mr. Keate" as the author and, while objecting to certain details of style, observes that the "Poem is not without some degree of merit; and if it be the first publication of a young Author, better things may be expected from him" (p. 227). P. 156: Keate's daughter was married on June 9, 1796 (*Gentleman's magazine*, June, 1796, p. 524). P. 159: Add the "Account of George Keate, Esq.," *European magazine*, July, 1797, pp. 20-23. Joseph Warton's name is misspelled throughout.

did all her writing and publishing there, and was esteemed enough there to have a portrait by Reynolds and a friendship with Dr. Johnson. I should say on this showing that the majority have been right in calling her an English woman and that as a novelist she is high on the list of expatriates whom I should be willing to surrender to the Old Country.

Mr. Maynadier has, however, compiled some informative material on two of her less-known stories, *Harriot Stuart* (1751) and *Euphemia* (1791), which involve American scenes and people and apparently include some of Mrs. Lennox' experiences and memories; and he has dealt carefully and ingeniously with the conjectures as to her "Americanism," which can be based on fragmentary facts and legends as to her birth and girlhood. Lyle H. Wright does not include Mrs. Lennox in his fine bibliography of early American fiction; but Mr. Maynadier's study belongs in the bibliography of the fiction of the period, whether Mrs. Lennox be regarded as American or English.

P. H. BOYNTON

University of Chicago

Thomas Carlyle: journey to Germany, autumn 1858. Edited by RICHARD ALBERT EDWARD BROOKS. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940. Pp. xxxviii+222.

The aesthetic of Walter Pater. By RUTH C. CHILD. ("A Wellesley College publication.") New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. vii+157.

Dr. Brooks's volume presents the text of the seventy-eight-page manuscript of Carlyle's *Journey to Germany*, which the Yale University library acquired in 1932 along with a typescript of it made by Carlyle's nephew, Alexander Carlyle. In an introduction which indicates the nature and value of the text, the editor is able to reveal something of the gross editorial practices of the historian's nephew, who seems to have been bitten by the same germ which threw Carlyle's biographer into the Froudacities which led him to suppress, alter, and otherwise tamper with the facts. We are also supplied with abundant details about Carlyle's sources—the oppressively detailed Tempelhof, the fervid Archenholz, and the labors of Preuss, Schottmüller, Kutzen, Nicolai, Lützw, Stille, Frederick himself. A case is made for Carlyle as against the rabid strictures of Norwood Young, and an analysis of the sources shows their great variety, the critical spirit in which Carlyle employed them, and the admirable perspective which he maintained throughout his task. The text itself is presented with integrity without, however, reproducing Carlyle's abbreviations, his irregular punctuation, or his corrections and errors, though eight misdatings and a few errors of fact have been appropriately dealt with. Full documentation is provided on every person, place, and incident mentioned in the *Journey*, as far as contemporary guidebooks, genealogies, and

other sources permitted. Indeed, few writings of Carlyle have received such meticulous and thorough editing. The *Journey* makes rather concentrated reading; it is written in the telegraphic style which Carlyle used when under the pressure of time and quick observation. But its record of his atrabilious quest for fact amid all the confusion and discomfort of Continental travel in the 1850's reveals once more the historian's grueling passion for exact information—geographical, anecdotal, human.

In a series of twelve appendixes, rivaling the text of the *Journey* in interest for the Carlylean, Dr. Brooks discusses Carlyle's aesthetic method and his treatment of sources in twelve of the great battles of *Frederick the Great*. It is perhaps in the discussion of the battle of Leuthen (Appen. III) that Carlyle's method comes out most clearly. Having dealt with Carlyle's historical method elsewhere, I myself recognized at once some of the details of method which I found in *The French Revolution* (see *PMLA*, XLIII [1928], 1150-69)—the translating, paraphrasing, and condensing of sources, the citation of only a part of Preuss for the battle hymn, the use of Schottmüller without citation, the employment of an anecdote about Daun which comes from the uncited *Anekdoten* at Nicolai, and yet the general fidelity to the facts in the sources, accompanied with a literary artistry which arranged and rearranged to give a graphic and on the whole a true picture of the event. And there is also Carlyle's practice, as in *The French Revolution*, of inventing human reactions and even short speeches when his sources fail, "attributing to various characters words or thoughts which the situation might warrant," placing these in single quotation marks when the context makes clear that they are not quotations from any source (pp. xxxvi, 148, 187, 209, 210). Yet after all allowances are made, by the editor and others, for Carlyle's imaginative use of his materials, the fact remains that, "driven almost to a novelist's methods to make the narrative graphic" (p. 145), "in these twelve narratives Carlyle quits himself like a historian" (p. xxxiv).

It is clear that Dr. Brooks's work, both in editing and in analysis, is a valuable step in our progressive understanding of Carlyle's method as man-of-letters in the role of historian. Aside from a few errors in proofreading, the standard of accuracy is very high; and the bibliography shows an acquaintance with the growing literature on *Frederick*. No doubt Louise M. Young's recent *Carlyle and the art of history* appeared too late to be of aid in the introduction. However, of the two most recent and illuminating German studies of *Frederick*, only that by Neumann is listed in the bibliography; the other, Mämpel's *Thomas Carlyle als Künstler unter besonderer Berücksichtigung "Friedrichs des Grossen"* (Göttingen, 1935), would probably have thrown some interesting light on Carlyle's use of monologue, anecdote, and portraiture, especially in Mämpel's central chapters (pp. 91-139). But these are relatively negligible criticisms. No admirer of *Frederick the Great*—and there are probably more admirers than we realize—can afford to miss this careful presenta-

tion of a new manuscript bearing upon it, with commentary and interpretation which again bring Carlyle before us as a literary master.

Dr. Child's *The aesthetic of Walter Pater* is a successful attempt, within the limits of little more than a hundred and fifty pages, to present a balanced and historical view of a subject that has long been distorted by ignorance and prejudice, from Pater's own time down through the superficial volumes of Greenslet and Thomas, through the stuffy and misleading "Victorian" biography by Wright, and the neo-Humanist condemnations by Paul Elmer More and T. S. Eliot. The author's aim is to correct the conventional exaggeration of Pater's "aesthetic" side and to show how he developed an ethical view of art, a firm sense of form, a consciousness of "unity of spirit as well as richness of experience," and his own type of "aesthetic criticism" which excluded mere sensibility, impressionism, or obsession with form, but which comprehended an "intelligent interest in all forms of beauty, including the beauties of the human spirit" (pp. 105, 129). The result is not a blind defense of Pater but an effort to understand him. Though the growth of Pater's philosophy of life is seen as a movement "from youthful idealism to adolescent scepticism, back to idealism again" (p. 105), Dr. Child concludes that "it is still unsatisfying in that it is, in large part, an escape philosophy . . . a refuge from the world as it is" (p. 142). Throughout the discussion we are made freshly aware of the foreign influences upon Pater from the French, the German, the classical Greek; and yet we discern anew the surprising degree to which Pater remained true to his own genius, free alike from the extravagances of Wilde and the other Aesthetes and from the doctrinaire excesses of the French impressionists and symbolists.

The aesthetic of Walter Pater, though modest in its physical dimensions, is easily the most substantial study of Pater since the appearance in 1933 of Helen H. Young's *The Writings of Walter Pater: a reflection of British philosophical opinion, 1860-1890*. Two minor points, made on pages 89 and 115, may give some readers a momentary pause: did Pater, as Dr. Child states, "borrow from Nietzsche" the idea of the centrifugal ("Dionysian") and the centripetal ("Apollonian") forces in Greek culture suggested in *The marbles of Aegina*? If Pater had any knowledge of or direct debt to Friedrich Nietzsche, it surely should be elaborated upon. To my knowledge, there was never any possibility of such a relation. Again, is it possible to say, as the author says on page 115, that "Sainte-Beuve did not attempt to find any 'formula' to cover a given man"? What about Sainte-Beuve's well-known doctrine of the "master passion"? Pater knew Sainte-Beuve's work so well that it is at least highly probable that his famous critical doctrine helped direct Pater's own critical effort to discover the "active principle" or "virtue" which gives a writer or a work of art its individuality.

CHARLES FREDERICK HARROLD

Michigan State Normal College

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